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A LETTER

TO THE

DUKE OF GRAFTON.

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A LETTER

TO THE

DUKE OF GRAFTON,

WITH NOTES.

INCLUDING

A COMPLETE EXCULPATION

OF

M. DE LA FAYETTE

From the Charges indecently urged againſt him by

MR. BURKE,

In the Houſe of Commons, on the 17th March, 1794.

By Mr. MILES.

To which is annexed

A VINDICATION OF THE AUTHOR

FROM THE

CHARGE OF DEMOCRACY.

LONDON:

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MDCCXCIV.

ERRATA.

Page 51, line 18, for *received* read *deceived.*

—— 78, laſt line, for *au peuple* read *du peuple.*

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A LETTER,

TO THE

DUKE OF GRAFTON.

London, March 20, 1794.

IT is matter of ſurpriſe, my Lord, to many, and of offence to all, that your Grace ſhould again provoke the ſuſpended indignation of your country, and renounce that obſcurity to which the univerſal and well-founded contempt of the world had conſigned you. To recur to paſt events, and recall the pitiful meaſures of an Adminiſtration, marked by folly, turpitude, and cowardice, in which the kingdom was diſhonoured abroad, and oppreſſed at home, would be wreſting from the hiſtorian the painful, but indiſpenſable obligation of recording the foul catalogue, not of crimes dignified by ſucceſs and juſtified by neceſſity, but of innumerable miſchiefs bequeathed to your ſucceſſors, the ſad effects of which an interval of twenty years has not been able to efface.

It is not the melancholy detail of a life nearly conſumed in the wretched purſuits of every thing that is mean and diſreputable.—It is not your public or private hiſtory that is offered to your notice, but a ſtrong and well merited remonſtrance againſt proceedings, which mark the guilt and natural meanneſs of a character, known only to be reprobated, and which excites ſcorn or deriſion wherever it is mentioned. —It is an examination, my Lord, of your pretenſions to that patriotiſm and reſpect, which your Grace has lately claimed in your legiſlative capacity; and with whatever ill-humour this remonſtrance may be received, with whatever contempt you may affect to treat its ſubſtance or its language, the truths it contains, and the events to which it alludes, will require the full exertion of your philoſophy to bear with fortitude, and the whole ſtock of family effrontery to recollect without bluſhing.

Surely, my Lord, Junius, who ſeems to have underſtood your character, and to have acquired a tolerable knowledge of human nature, muſt have counted too much on his diſcernment, when he ſuppoſed it poſſible for a man to be reclaimed, on whom precept and example never had any influence, but when they pointed to that pre-eminence from which good men turn with anger and averſion.

What

What a misfortune it is, that your Grace has not availed yourſelf of the prediction of your adverſary, and enabled the prophet to become the hiſtorian of your reformation!—The opportunity is loſt; and, notwithſtanding your preſent efforts to recover it, the reproach of having read Junius as the Biſhops read the Old Teſtament, cannot be avoided. *They* would verify the prophecies of the Jews, without being warned by their fate, or benefited by the admonitions they received.—We know that the Author who has been quoted is not a favourite with your Grace; but ſomething is due to his generoſity, when he aſſerts, that "*there is "hardly a period at which the moſt irregular cha-"racter may not be redeemed.*"—Your character, my Lord, offers an exception to a rule, the application of which, as far as it relates to yourſelf, may be denied, without any injury to your reputation, or offence to your feelings. The paſſage, however, to which we allude has not been forgotten.—Your Grace, it ſeems, has held it in faithful remembrance; and, alarmed at the proſpect of internal commotions, you would willingly make your peace before the day of retribution arrives;—but the deception is too groſs to miſlead our judgment;—a ſucceſſion of impoſtures too impudent to be forgotten, and too calamitous to be forgiven, have put the people

on their guard; and they know from experience, that it is not every man who bellows for liberty that is an enemy to deſpotiſm. Ever fertile in expedients, you ſeem anxious to provide againſt this difficulty, by eſpouſing the cauſe of benevolence; ſo that what ſhould be denied on the ſcore of patriotiſm might be amply made up to you on that of humanity. This, in the language of the turf, was no bad hedge; and if it did not ſucceed as you wiſhed, we may venture to aſſert, that it was not owing to any delicacy on the part of your Grace.

It is really not meant, my Lord, to queſtion with acrimony, or too much nicety, your claim to any one good quality of the mind or heart, to which any tolerable pretenſions can be advanced; and do not attribute it to malevolence, when we expreſs our ſurprize, that the only two inſtances in which you have condeſcended to appeal to our judgment, ſhould be preciſely thoſe on which the world has long ſince decided, in a manner it may not be prudent to repeat, and certainly not very conſonant with your late declarations in Parliament.

In referring to paſt times, we find more than ſufficient to queſtion the purity of your motives for the part you have taken; nor is the ground which you have choſen an argument either of your truth or diſcretion. The trade and manu-

factures

factures of this country will always ſuffer interruption and diminution at the commencement of every war, and this interruption will neceſſarily produce inconvenience and diſtreſs to thoſe who are immediately concerned in either; but your Grace might have learnt from the ſame ſource from whence you derived your information, a conſolatory aſſurance, that the interruption and diſtreſs which you deplore, are merely temporary, and that, recovered from the ſudden check which commerce always receives on the commencement of hoſtilities, it ſoon reſumes its former vigour; but the context would not have anſwered your purpoſe; it would have ſhewn, that a nation reduced almoſt to bankruptcy, at the cloſe of an iniquitous, and certainly an ill-conducted war, could recover herſelf by her own exertions;—it would have held out hope and conſolation to a people ſmarting under temporary difficulties, and whoſe ill humour it is attempted to provoke into acts of violence and ſedition. How comes it, my Lord, that with every inducement to ſupport Government which can ariſe from a ſenſe of honour and of prudence, you ſhould have declared againſt it?—Surely, your Grace might have held out other proſpects than ruin and deſpondency; while authorized by the indiſputable evidence of official documents, you might have taught your

tenants

tenants and your neighbours to look forward to better days.—But this again would not have ſuited your purpoſe;—neither would it have correſponded with a temper naturally diſpoſed to abridge the miſerable portion of human felicity, which unhappily falls within its power to controul.

In a work lately publiſhed, and which is meant to correct wilful miſrepreſentation, as well as to inſtruct the ignorant, your Grace will find a full refutation of all your prognoſtics.

To a vigorous and well-informed mind, the Author * adds great accuracy and preciſion in argument; and in the late edition of his Eſtimate of the Comparative ſtrength of Great Britain, your Grace will find, that the value of cargoes exported at the end of the year 1782, from England only, amounted to 12,375,750l. and that at the end of 1792, they had encreaſed to 23,679,316l.—The ſhipping cleared outwards at the former period was 761,362 tons;—at the latter, it amounted to 1,561,154 And if the export trade of this country almoſt doubled itſelf in the courſe of ten years; if the country, depreſſed as ſhe was in a ſtruggle with the three great maritime Powers of Europe, and a civil war of conſiderable extent, recovered herſelf in ſo ſhort a period, what right has you Grace to

* Mr. Chalmers.

ſuppoſe

ſuppoſe that the ſame advantages may not ariſe from the ſame exertions, and the nation arrive at a degree of ſplendor in the year 1802, proportionate to that which ſhe was found in 1792, compared to that of 1782?

Be aſſured, my Lord, that if you ſeriouſly lament the injury our trade receives from the difficulties of the moment, the book recommended to your peruſal will afford you infinite conſolation; and as Norfolk and Suffolk appear to have their Jaſper Wilſons, as well as Liverpool, it will be an act of humanity to thoſe wrong-headed gentlemen, and of juſtice to your Sovereign, to order an hundred copies of this ineſtimable performance to be diſtributed, for the information of thoſe who prefer truth to falſehood, and on whoſe affections their country, its laws and Government have not loſt their hold.

But perhaps your Grace is yet to learn, that it is malicious to repreſent as perpetual, thoſe calamities which are in their very nature of ſhort duration. If the diſtreſſes are of the extent you deſcribe; if famine and deſpondency prevail in diſtant provinces, it is wonderful that the diſaſtrous ſtate of our manufacturers has not been made public through channels leſs apocryphal, and better entitled to credit and reſpect.—For you, my Lord, to come forward, circumſtanced as you are, and with all the miſchiefs entailed

entailed on us by your pernicious councils, is the height of indecency—it is worſe—it is an affront to the nation, and a libel on its Government.

For you, my Lord, to claim our confidence, after having ſo groſsly abuſed it, and to pretend an attachment to thoſe intereſts, which, on a variety of occaſions, you have ſacrificed to your ſpleen and convenience, are not atonements for paſt wrongs, but attempts at freſh inſults, which, conſidering the temper of the times, it will be imprudent to repeat, leſt they ſhould remind the people of their obligations to others as well as to your Grace, and ſtimulate them to an irregular diſcharge of what it is your intereſt they ſhould bury in oblivion.

We will ſpare you the peruſal of names which, on this occaſion, have precedency to that of Fitzroy, as well as thoſe which, with much leſs pretenſions to general hatred, have not been able to remove the ſuſpicions excited by an abuſe of the confidence repoſed in them.

We do not allude to thoſe, who, poſſeſſing the minds of lacqueys have not ſufficient dignity to preſerve them from infamous purſuits, nor the requiſite talents to direct them to good ones.—But to men who, in their oppoſition to Government, have nothing in view but to engroſs the patronage, and to ſhare the emoluments of office

fice among a beggarly train of couſins and dependents; and who, without abilities to execute, or character to dignify the ſtations they ſolicit, have the arrogance to conſider the wealth and induſtry of the nation as their inheritance. The attempts, direct and indirect, which were made on the conſtitutional rights of the people, from the commencement of the preſent reign down to the ſad period of the American conteſt, afforded ample ſcope to men of enterprize to come forward, ſome few, with fair and honeſt deſigns, who really meant to ſerve their country, and others who acted without principle or union;—both theſe deſcriptions of men aſſumed one common language;——both oppoſed the meaſures of the Crown, and contended for that ſupport and that confidence which was to enſure them ſucceſs;—that confidence was chearfully granted, and you Grace is no ſtranger to the extent to which it has been abuſed.—Hence the diſtruſt that prevails, and the neceſſity of that circumſpection which can alone preſerve us from ſimilar frauds in future.—If we are grown cautious and ſuſpicious, my Lord, it is becauſe we have been deceived; and it will ſurely be acknowledged, that we live to little purpoſe indeed, if we do not profit by experience.

We have been taught to eſtimate the moral rectitude of men, and the ſincerity of their pro-

 ſeſſions,

ſeſſions, by the fidelity with which they diſcharge their engagements; and with this rule to direct us (the only guide whom we can truſt, and the only one to whom we can refer) would it not argue inſanity, or imbecility, if we were to give your Grace credit for ſentiments to which the uniform tenor of a life far advanced on its journey, preſents a full and complete contradiction?—Believe me, my Lord, that patriotiſm will neither afford you a ſafe nor an honourable retreat. Our credulity has been too often impoſed upon, to allow you to hope any comfortable ſhelter in that quarter; nor ſhould we have ſuſpected your Grace capable of ſo flagrant a deſertion of your former principles, as to ſeek a refuge ſo contrary to your eſtabliſhed habits, if the revolution which has taken place in men's minds had not awakened your fears for your perſonal ſafety, and ſuggeſted a poſſibility of avoiding the well-founded reſentment of the people, by the pitiful expedient of pretending to ſupport their intereſts!—The effort, I own, is not without precedent; and the experiment, in this awful moment, when bad men of *contrary* deſcriptions have much to *fear* and much to *hope*, was certainly worth trying; but what hope of ſucceſs, my Lord, could *you* poſſibly entertain, while your ſtrong and triumphant claim to that regular and ſyſtematic conduct, ſtands unimpeached,

unimpeached, and unimpaired, "*which renders "your attachment infamy, and leaves ruin and diſ-"grace behind it?*"

So far, however, from ſuſpecting your Grace of any ſerious intention to give the lie to the uniform tenor of your life; we perceive in your mode of coming forward, a more than common ſolicitude, to preſerve that conſiſtency of conduct, which ſeparates you as effectually from your fellow citizens, as if you were of a diſtinct ſpecies; and from whatever motive you may have acted, we are equally indebted to you for fortifying us in our natural diſtruſt of your profeſſions, and putting us on our guard againſt any future miſchiefs you may intend us. But even admitting the purity of your intentions, where is the party that would act with you? Where is the individual, my Lord, that will truſt you? Where is the man, who, with any portion of reputation left, and anxious to preſerve the remainder, would hazard it by aſſociating it with that of yours? To come forward in your declining days, and brave the public opinion, is effrontery, not courage. It reſembles the deſperate efforts of the ruined gameſter, who ſtakes in deſpair his laſt guinea, and truſts to the hazard of the dye for a favourable iſſue.

Have a care, my Lord, the game you propoſe to play is deeper than you ſuſpect. The people

are not uninformed of the foul and polluted ſource from whence you derive your rank and income. They are not to be told, that with one or two exceptions, your pedigree can claim more infamy, and leſs antiquity, than that of any other peer in Parliament, and, ſurely under ſuch circumſtances, and under ſuch an accumulation of hereditary and acquired odium, it ill becomes you to remind us of the impudent violation of the laws, by which your anceſtor was advanced to honour and independence.

Be adviſed, my Lord, and do not add to the ill humour that prevails, leſt it ſhould extend to an enquiry, that may terminate in depriving you of what (by an unwarrantable and ſcandalous abuſe of power) has been ſettled on your family, and force you to obſerve that economy from neceſſity, which you have latterly practiſed by choice.

Would your Grace wiſh to have your pretenſions to the title you inherit, and to the income you poſſeſs, inveſtigated by the wiſer maxims* of the preſent day? Would you wiſh it

* The excitement to enterpriſe and induſtry in all nations, will ever be in proportion to the degree of ſecurity, with which property can be enjoyed and tranſmitted; and it is owing to this ſecurity, which is derived from our laws, that commerce, agriculture, and manufactures, have been carried on

it to be revealed to the nation, and to the world, that one of the probable cauſes of your averſion to the war, is the diminution it may eventually occaſion

on, and improved, to a much greater extent in this country than in any other, while the laws themſelves have acquired ſtability and reſpect, from the wiſdom in which they are founded, and the fidelity with which they are executed. I have judged this explanation neceſſary, leſt it ſhould be inferred, that I am infected with the licentiouſneſs of the times, and would inveſtigate title deeds, and level all diſtinctions, upon the ſame principle that the French have done.

I have no ſuch deſign.—On the contrary, I have ever reprobated their conduct on this, and many other occaſions, as abſurd, impolitic, and iniquitous.

But I make a diſtinction between the fruits of honeſt induſtry; between reward beſtowed on individuals, for great and meritorious ſervices rendered to the State, and delapidations of the public revenue, for the purpoſe of providing for the ſpurious iſſue of princes. I make a diſtinction between titles conferred on men who have deſerved well of their country, and thoſe which have been the recompence of adultery or incontinence. In the firſt inſtance, the Sovereign diſtributes wiſely and honeſtly thoſe honors, which the nation has entruſted to his diſpoſal. In the ſecond, he abuſes the confidence repoſed in him, and inſults public morals, by giving ſplendor and eclat to proſtitution.—Charles the Second, in granting any portion of the public revenue to his illegitimate iſſue, was guilty of a breach of truſt to the nation, and the Parliament that ſanctioned the grant was an accomplice in the fraud. The wiſer maxims of the preſent day, forbid ſo ſcandalous a deviation from the line of duty preſcribed to the Crown. They ordain, that for all public diſtinction there

occaſion in that part of your income, which, (in recompence to profligate libertiniſm) has been ſaddled on the Cuſtoms? Or do you think that its being generally known to ariſe from a fraudulent appropriation of the public revenue, (for in honeſt conſcience, my Lord, what elſe can it be called) will render it more ſecure, or obtain affection and reſpect, from the million whom you have by turns inſulted, and careſſed?

It is idle to ſuppoſe, that with the perfect knowledge which we have of your character and your principles, with the recollection of the miſchiefs you have entailed on your country, and the odium annexed to your name, you can ever obtain, even a momentary popularity, for your profeſſions of patriotiſm. Nor is it poſſible, my Lord, that you can ever riſe into notice or eſteem, under any change of fortune, (however deplorable) that can poſſibly befal us. To claim our confidence, after the melancholy experience we have had of your incapacity and

there ſhould be ſome public merit; that no member of ſociety ſhould be raiſed above the reſt without an *equivalent* being given for the ſuperiority; and as the principles of right and Civil Government, appear to be better underſtood, and better practiſed in this century, than they were in the laſt, it is fair to conclude, that men become juſt in proportion as they become enlightened.

inſincerity; to come forward at this period of your life, with an affected anxiety for the proſperity of the empire; with a diſſembled concern for its peace and proſperity, exceeds all that hypocriſy has hitherto attempted; all that arrogance has ever dared to aſſume; it puts even impudence to the bluſh, and warns us with the voice of Stentor, to beware of COUNTERFEITS! Be aſſured, my Lord, that it is as indecent in your Grace, to expect our confidence, as it would be criminal and abſurd in us to beſtow it. Is it not an inſult to our underſtanding, that you, of all men in his Majeſty's dominions, ſhould preſume to come forward, under the maſque of patriotiſm, to embarraſs the Executive Government?—Are you aware, my Lord, of the conſequences of ſuch a conduct at a period like the preſent, when the unreſerved ſupport of every man in the three kingdoms ſhould be fully and cheerfully given to the Crown?—When the whole Empire is called upon to reſent unprovoked aggreſſion, the object of which is to tear not only the diadem from the head of your Sovereign, but the ſhuttle from the weaver, the anvil from the ſmith, and the plough from the huſbandman?

Is your Grace yet to learn, that the war is of an extent unexampled in the annals of the world; that it aims no leſs to wreſt from the

labourer

labourer and mechanic the well-earned fruits of their honeſt induſtry, than to extinguiſh the power and annihilate the commerce of your country? Are you to be informed, after the woeful proofs we have had of the wild and execrable principles on which the French commenced this war, and have reſolved to purſue it, that it is not only the dignity of the Britiſh Empire we are defending, but our acres and our perſons. That it is a conteſt between diſſolute idleneſs and virtuous induſtry, as well as between nation and nation, and that the firſt has ſworn to exterminate the ſecond, or periſh in the attempt?—Is it poſſible that your Grace can be a ſtranger to the only conditions on which the French will liſten to peace?—Are you to be told, that they have reſolved not to treat with any people who acknowledge a King or Nobility?—And have you the indecency, as well as meanneſs, to abet an execrable banditti in ſo flagrant an attack on the ſovereignty and independence of your country?

It has been the inſolent boaſt of even the moſt temperate Frenchmen, that "*Great Britain would ſoon become a province of France;*" and the decree of the Convention which indirectly preſcribes to us the republican form of Government, ſeems to have been grafted on this impudent prognoſtic.—Good God! Great

Britain

Britain a province to France!——Periſh the thought, and with it thoſe who would even connive at an humiliation no leſs injurious to the honour of their country, than it would prove fatal to her proſperity. The French have declared, "*that they will not treat with us while* "*Monarchy exiſts in England.*"—What is this but dictating the law, and uſurping a power, which our pride, no leſs than our intereſts, calls upon us to repel? Would your Grace, better informed on the ſubject, venture to recommend ſuch ignominious conditions to your country?—Would you ſubmit to purchaſe peace, deſirable as it is, on terms ſo diſhonourable? Would you dare, as the price of that peace, recommend Parliament to dethrone the Sovereign *, to whom you are bound by the ſacred obligations of an oath, and whom it is your duty, as it is that of every individual in his dominions, to ſupport?—Is your allegiance, my Lord, of ſuch ſlight and flimſy texture, that it will break on

* If there is any one part of our invaluable Conſtitution to which I feel a partiality, it is to the Houſe of Commons; but democratic as I am, and as every Engliſhman ought to be, I would rather that the Monarchy, at this time, was ſtrengthened than enfeebled.—I would rather that the Crown ſhould acquire power than loſe it, from a full conviction that whatever it loſes the Commons will loſe in equal proportion, and that if the *former* ſhould be annihilated, the LATTER will not long ſurvive it.

the ſlighteſt touch? Or is it as flexible as that of the late Duke of Orleans, eaſy to ſtretch, and ready to accommodate itſelf either to the reaſonable demands of your legitimate Prince, or to the wild and ſanguinary projects of the Wat Tylers and Jack Cades of the day? If it is ſupple, we know to what cauſe it is to be attributed; but though we are diſpoſed to pardon conſtitutional timidity, we are not diſpoſed to excuſe that hereditary compound of pride, meanneſs, and fraud, which, varying with the occaſion, would inſult us, cringe to us, and impoſe on us!—Your Grace miſtakes the Engliſh character, and over-rates your dexterity very conſiderably indeed, when you imagine we are to be deceived into an opinion either of your talents or diſpoſition to ſerve us. It is not, be aſſured, my Lord, in the aſſumed character of a patriot that you appear to advantage; and it is a ſorry compliment to our diſcernment, and and a much worſe to our pride, to ſuppoſe we ſtand in need of your Grace, or of any other Peer, to eſpouſe our cauſe, even if we had cauſe of complaint againſt the confidential ſervants of the Crown.—Are we for ever to be inſulted with ſuch officious and impertinent interference?—Are we for ever deſtined to reprobate the evil, and deplore the calamity, of perpetually looking up to *great names* for protection and redreſs, while

while we have the power to confer the one, and to adminiſter the other?—Is there no reſource left for the collected wiſdom and ſpirit of the country, than to enliſt under the banners of one or other of the different factions, which, ſpeculating in politics, or religion, as either may happen to ſuit their purpoſe, traffic with the public credulity, and bartering vain and empty profeſſions of patriotiſm, in exchange for offices of truſt and emolument, revel in the plunder of their country, and ſolicit our confidence only to abuſe it?

My Lord, be prudent, and take advice; it is not the worſe for being anonymous. Acquainted as we are, with the texture and complexion of your principles, we muſt arrive at the loweſt ſtate of degradation, before we can poſſibly deſcend to accept of aſſiſtance or advice from the man who has injured and inſulted us.

If this ſhould appear an enigma to your Grace, you will find the ſolution in your own breaſt.

The world has found it in your conduct.

If the ſeaſon of deluſion was not paſt, our experience would be a bar to your hopes, which, even the fertile reſources of a mind like yours, would not be able to deſtroy. Beſides, we have been too often duped by profeſſions of patriotiſm, to truſt to the promiſes of even leſs exceptionable

tionable characters: And your Grace will do well to remember, that with every poſſible hereditary claim to the averſion and contempt of the Britiſh nation, it has an account of a perſonal nature to ſettle with you, in which your deſertion of the late Earl of Chatham, and your wanton, not to ſay audacious violation of the Conſtitution, in the caſe of the Middleſex Election, will certainly not be forgotten. Is it not ſingular, my Lord, that the ſame petulance, the ſame paſſion for raſh and idle enterpriſe which diſtinguiſhed your youth, ſhould mark your deſcent to the grave? And, is it not extraordinary, that you ſhould never take part in our public councils, without expoſing the ſecurity of Government, or the honour of the nation? But it is perfectly in character, that the man who began by betraying his Sovereign, ſhould finiſh by inſulting him; in the former inſtance, you would have made your Royal Maſter the accomplice of your guilt; in the latter, it is the people whom you would ſeduce into a participation of your infamy, and render the inſtruments of their own deſtruction. In the firſt inſtance, it was the King whom you would have ſet at variance with his ſubjects.

In the ſecond, it is the ſubject whom you would arm againſt the prince, but better inſtructed in our duties, we are as little diſpoſed

to

to borrow our loyalty from your Grace, as the King, we truſt, is to reign by the maxims of the family from whom you are deſcended.

Happily, my Lord, the reciprocal obligations between the Throne and the people: the principle on which theſe obligations are founded, and the ſentiment by which they are converted into affections are too well underſtood, and too generally acknowledged, to be injured by any arguments that your Grace can poſſibly advance. But, tho' your efforts have proved unſucceſsful, the attempt was not leſs atrocious, and it would be difficult to account for a conduct no leſs weak than criminal, if we did not know from melancholy experience, the unhappy bias in your mind to pervert and miſapply your talents and your time, and to act in every ſituation of public or of private life, in direct oppoſition to the beſt eſtabliſhed, and moſt approved maxims, for our conduct in both. Under the extraordinary circumſtances of the preſent times, when every foul and iniquitous artifice is employed to bring monarchy into contempt that ingenuity can deviſe, or profligacy avow; when with a dark and malignant deſign to ſubvert all our eſtabliſhments, an inſidious attack is made on the Throne, and Royalty repreſented to be at once uſeleſs, expenſive, and diſgraceful; it becomes the immediate duty, and, I truſt, it

will

will be the pride of every individual in the Britiſh Empire to ſupport the Sovereign in the conſtitutional exerciſe of his Prerogative, and enable him to reſiſt ſucceſsfully and decidedly, every attempt that may be made to diminiſh his authority, or leſſen the reſpect due to the important and elevated rank which he holds in ſociety.

Such is the ſentiment that animates, with very few exceptions, all ranks and deſcriptions of people in this country.—Such the line of conduct, my Lord, they have adopted, and mean to purſue, not ſo much from their fate, at this awful, this eventful moment, being involved in that of their Sovereign, as from motives of perſonal regard, and a wiſh, perhaps, to atone for thoſe opinions entertained to his diſadvantage, when your Grace, high in the confidence of your Royal Maſter, ſtood, like Iago, between the people and the object of their hopes, inſpiring both with diſtruſt of each other's intentions.—My Lord, we have not yet forgotten, nor are we diſpoſed to pardon, the infamy of leaving the metropolis of the Britiſh Empire at the mercy of a lawleſs rabble, and preferring the diſreputable amuſements of Newmarket to the faithful diſcharge of your duty as firſt Miniſter. We ſtill remember your mean and cowardly deſertion of your Sovereign in the moment of danger,

ger, when his perſon and his family were expoſed to the fury and licentiouſneſs of a miſguided rabble.—When the profligacy of your morals, contraſted with the unaffected piety of his Majeſty, brought the ſincerity of the latter into queſtion, and the faithful diſcharge of the duties of religion and morality into diſrepute.

Theſe were no ſlight and common offences; they tended to influence the public opinion in the moſt ſerious and important concerns of life, and to give to the ſincere and ſolemn practice of devotion the appearance of hypocriſy.

It was alſo at this period, my Lord, that the people were taught to annex the idea of liberty with the name of Wilkes, and, by a logical deduction worthy of their capacities, to aſſociate the idea of tyranny with that of a King.—We do not owe it to any exertions of your Grace, that this diſtinction was not eſtabliſhed in the minds of men, and carried to the ſame exceſs, and attended with the ſame terrible effects as in France.—Whenever ſuch an opinion is adopted, and becomes general in this country, woe to the Monarchy and to all the ſumptuous appendages of Royalty!—It is the clear evidence of this very obvious truth that renders your recent conduct in Parliament as inexplicable as your former councils were pernicious, and ſomething more than an apology is due for having countenanced

a meaſure

a meaſure, whoſe iniquity is not leſs conſpicuous than its folly, and which you knew in your conſcience at the time to have been abſolutely impracticable—Not from any conviction that Miniſters were determined to carry on the war, or that Parliament was reſolved to ſupport them in the vigorous proſecution of a conteſt which they could not have avoided, but from the abſolute impoſſibility, of France being able to put an end to hoſtilities.—Her own ſafety, or at leaſt the ſafety of thoſe who have uſurped the dominion of that country, requires a ſtill farther and moſt enormous expence of blood *.—It is an acknowledged truth, my Lord, that France could not accept of peace, were the combined powers diſpoſed to offer it.

Indeed, there are ſtrong reaſons for ſuſpecting, that this fact was even acknowledged by thoſe who acted in direct oppoſition to their conviction, and whoſe motive for coming for-

* It was one of the favourite dogmas of the Abbé Sieyes, from the very commencement of the Revolution, and which his diſciples have ſince maintained, with a ſucceſs proportioned to their execrable zeal, "that the population "of France muſt be diminiſhed at leaſt TWO MILLIONS." The mode of effecting that diminution was alſo pointed out, and the aſſaſinations and proſcriptions which have enſued, ſufficiently prove that the advice of the prieſt has not been neglected.

ward

ward with motion for peace, was leſs to ſerve the cauſe of humanity than to force themſelves into power.

The violated rights of men, and the intereſts and proſperity of the kingdom, will always afford abundant matter for declamation; they are the ready means to captivate the multitude, who judging of other men's ſincerity by their own, are too apt to give credit for the good faith of profeſſions whoſe object is deluſion. It has ever been the practice of thoſe who have aſpired to a ſhare in his Majeſty's councils, to have recourſe to this more than impudent, this diſhonourable expedient, and (which is a ſtrong reflection at once on our folly and credulity;) they have generally ſucceeded.—Men who are influenced by conſiderations of perſonal intereſt, and mean nothing more by ſerving their country than to ſerve themſelves, will not be very delicate in their choice of means; and whether the Throne is taken by ſtorm, or whether it is compelled to capitulate, their purpoſe is equally anſwered, and the nation is equally inſulted.—— The extent to which theſe arts have been practiſed in a neighbouring country, ought to ſerve as a leſſon, not only to well-meaning men of warm tempers, the purity of whoſe motives will ſometimes operate as a check on their enthuſiaſm, but to men of inordinate vanity and am-

bition, who call forth the diſſolute and indigent, to enable them to accompliſh their criminal deſigns.—Is it already become neceſſary, my Lord, with examples ſo numerous, ſo recent, and ſo ſtrong, before us, to remind your Grace, that every man in France of both deſcriptions has fallen a victim to his guilt or folly.—Have we not beheld, under the different impreſſions of ſorrow and of joy, of aſtoniſhment, anger, pity, and indignation, the various orders of Nobility, from Princes of the Blood down to the Nobleſſe of the Robe and Finance *, ſwept off the ſtage in regular ſucceſſion, as they came forward to take the lead, and direct that maſs which they imagined could be moulded and faſhioned to their purpoſe like wax? What are become of the Montmorencys, the Noailles, Liancourts, d'Aiguillons, and Lameths?——They are in exile—poor and obſcure, and with ſcarce the means of ſubſiſtence!——What is become of Neckar, that buſy quack in politics, literature, and finance—his own bubble, as well as of others, and who was compelled to fly from the unprovoked fury of the very mob that idolized him?—A fugitive, remembered only to be deſpiſed.—Where is the vain, the indiſcreet, and

* Lawyers, Bankers, and Farmers-General.

miſguided

miſguided La Fayette * ?—He is in a dungeon—his fame, ſplendour, and authority, extinguiſhed for ever!—Where are the Birons, the Broglios,

* Although I am perfectly convinced that Parliament could not, with propriety, take cognizance of the arreſt and detention of M. de la Fayette; yet no doubt exiſts in my mind that the former was an atrocious act of tyranny, without example or excuſe, and that the latter is as infamous and oppreſſive as it is impolitic and unjuſt. Feeling this conviction, and impreſſed with theſe ſentiments, I honour the generoſity of the man who made an ineffectual effort to reſcue an unfortunate victim from diſgraceful and unmerited confinement; however a daſtardly Nobleſſe, without dignity or virtue, may ſlander the man they would not dare to face; with whatever rancour a lazy, profligate and lying prieſthood, ignorant of their country and of the age they live in, may retail ſuch ſlanders; with whatever violence the Convention may purſue the memory of M. de la Fayette, I aver it as a fact, that Mr. Burke is the laſt man upon earth who ſhould join in the clamour of this ſenſeleſs, worthleſs rabble, againſt an unfortunate individual, who ſuffers for the ſame cauſe for which Hamden bled——THE CAUSE OF LIBERTY!

Mr. Burke had dared to pronounce M. de la Fayette guilty, and with all the vehemence of licentious eloquence, to brand him as a traitor:—But in what conſiſts his guilt? Who did he betray—What friends, what party, has he perfidiouſly deſerted—In what inſtance has he proved himſelf an apoſtate? Surely there is nothing criminal in endeavouring to cruſh deſpotiſm—Neither was it treaſonable to endeavour to break the fetters which held his degraded countrymen in bondage, and reſtore them to the rank of manhood in ſociety—

lios, Cuſtines, and Baillys?—They are under ground, my Lord:—their headleſs trunks ſtill bleeding, bear rueful teſtimony of the danger of ſeducing

ciety—If he failed in the attempt, if leſs verſed in the doctrines of revolution than his vindictive adverſary, he fell in the attempt, it was his misfortune not his crime! but allowing him to have been criminal, does the loſs of fortune, of liberty, and of all the endearing comforts of life, weigh nothing in the oppoſite ſcale?—Will his being immured in a dungeon, excluded from the light of Heaven, torn from his friends, and uninformed of the ſad deſtiny of his virtuous, hapleſs family, ſurrounded by aſſaſſins, and pining in grief and ſolitude, count for nothing?—Is it no atonement for his vices or his errors, that he is expoſed to ſuffer ſtill greater, and, if poſſible, more excruciating torments from the unrelenting malice of the unprincipled and dignified jailor who holds him in bondage?—Can the *mild* and *beneficent* temper of Mr. Burke diſcover no expiation for paſt offences under the preſſure of ſuch agonizing diſtreſs?—What purity, what rectitude of mind; what tenderneſs of heart muſt that man poſſeſs, and what ideas of criminal juriſprudence muſt he have formed, who, in his pretended zeal for national juſtice, in his extreme ardour for ſevere and exemplary puniſhment, can count ſuch rigorous, ſuch heavy amercements for nothing?—To what tenſion are the faculties of that man capable, who refining on cruelty, denies that theſe enumerated penalties entitle the hapleſs victim to a mitigation of his ſufferings?

Of what texture muſt his heart be, who, unprovoked by any perſonal wrong, or uninfluenced by conſiderations of public utility, could wantonly add, by invective and falſehoods, to the afflictions of a man, whoſe exiſtence, in the very prime of life, is mouldering to ruin, within a loathſome, damp, and dreary dungeon?

How

ſeducing from the ſober paths of induſtry a ſenſeleſs multitude, incapable of directing itſelf even for it own advantage. But were there even no danger

How painful muſt it have been for a Britiſh Houſe of Commons to liſten to the foul and malevolent harangues of a man, who having ſpanielled through life at the heels of nobility, is now become a pandar to authority, an inſtrument of oppreſſion, a vehicle of ſlander to an itinerant diſſolute prieſthood, a kind of jackall to a beggarly crew of French Biſhops and Nobles, running about with them from houſe to houſe, and from door to door, with all the fury of a Bedlamite, as if his mind was as diſtempered as his heart appears callous and inſenſible to the claims of benevolence.—We are no ſtrangers to the Gentleman's partiality for the Church of Rome, and can trace in the intemperance of his zeal for its vile and contemptible clergy, an anxiety to return to the track from which intereſt and convenience may poſſibly have ſeduced him in early life. Nor are we uninformed of the accommodating ſpirit of a religion that ſtill traffics in indulgences, and which has neither forgotten the craft, nor relinquiſhed the authority it poſſeſſed in the 14th century.

We know that it occaſionally admits the moſt faithful of its flock to wander from the fold, with abſolution in advance, leſt an accident ſhould happen before the pious vagrant, or rather the licenſed apoſtate, can get back.—Whether Mr. Burke is in this predicament; whether he is out upon bail on a promiſe to return before the laſt day of term, or whether he is come back, and obtained a *billet de confeſſion* (a certificate) from the Biſhop of St. Pol de Léon, it is needleſs to enquire; all I pretend to aſſert is, that from the whole of his conduct, it is evident the principles of the Jeſuits have ſurvived the abolition of their order.

For

danger, is there not cruelty in calling from honeſt, uſeful labour, ſo many valuable citizens, and converting them into as many unprincipled vagabonds?

For this man to come forward with a proud boaſt of his loyalty—with a new-fangled zeal for the family on the throne, while he reprobates the men, and condemns the means that led to their advancement, is as impudent as it is contrary to his former conduct and declarations in Parliament.

Of what complexion, and of what nature is that loyalty, which condemns M. de la Fayette, and approves of Mr. Waſhington? In what conſiſts the difference in the conduct and ſituation of theſe Gentlemen at the different epochs of 1774 and 1789? The latter was called by the unanimous voice of his countrymen, to take the command of a mob that had not acquired the honourable diſtinction of an army, and whoſe object was to reſiſt the execution of laws deemed vexatious, and acknowledged to be contrary to the known conſtitutional rights of Engliſhmen.—The former was alſo invited by a decided majority of his countrymen to reſcue from the French King a power which had been frequently abuſed, and which, by being undefined, was incompatible with the principles on which ALL GOVERNMENTS ought to be eſtabliſhed.—The views and appointments of both theſe Generals were preciſely the ſame; and hoſtile as Mr. Burke has lately become to reform and to revolutions, we know that he once countenanced inſurrection, and gloried in the rebellion that ſevered his country from America.—We know that he wept at the victories of his country, and at the defeats of her enemies.—With what decency then can he give his curſes to La Fayette and his benediction to Waſhington? With what claim to credit or reſpect can he abuſe men who are, according to his former doctrines, only culpable becauſe they were unfortunate?

Is

gabonds? Can your Grace reflect on the ſad cataſtrophe of the amiable, the virtuous Clermont de Tonnere, and not ſhed a tear of pity on his unhallowed

Is it Mr. Burke who triumphed at the victories, and wept at the defeats of Waſhington, that arraigns the loyalty of M. de la Fayette, and condemns him for erecting the ſtandard of revolt?

Is it Mr. Burke who carried on a correſpondence with Dr. Franklin at Paris, during the whole period of our diſgraceful conteſt with America, and who ſupported with all the fervour of enthuſiaſm the rebellion, as it was called, that now finds the conduct of M. de la Fayette criminal?—Is the ſuſpicious evidence of men who deſerted their acres on the firſt alarm, and who abjectly ſigh for that tyranny which they alternately felt and exerciſed, to be received in preference to facts? And is it with ſuch beings that Mr. Burke, a Member of the Britiſh Parliament, deſcends to aſſociate, and partaking of their baſeneſs, would wreſt from an abſent and diſtreſſed individual, defenceleſs and forlorn, all that the ſavage ferocity of a vindictive tyrant has left him—man's laſt and deareſt refuge—HOPE!——Is it Mr. Burke that has joined a cowardly race of miſcreants to aſſaſſinate the character of a man whom the ſtouteſt of them would tremble to encounter, and ſhrink into nothing at the ſight of? Is it Mr. Burke that offers himſelf as a ſample of loyalty, and arrogates the right of preſcribing to us rules of allegiance?—Is it Mr. Burke, in whom this ſpring-tide of loyalty flows in ſuch profuſion, who, callous to every ſentiment of duty, of humanity, and of generoſity, inſulted fallen Majeſty in that awful and diſtreſſing moment of univerſal grief and deſpondency, when every face was marked with affliction and gloom? Is this the apoſtle of religion, who, when every heart

hallowed grave?—Can you open the enormous volume of modern martyrs, and not tremble for your own fate, in following even the example of

heart but his own was diſſolved in ſorrow, and every cheek bedewed with tears, pronouncing the illneſs of his Sovereign to be the well merited vengeance of Heaven *, rejoiced at a calamity which threatened his country with the greateſt of all misfortunes? Has this man the effrontery to prate publicly of duty and affection for Kings?

Is it Mr. Burke that eſpouſed the cauſe, and vindicated the honour of his deputy (Powel) who, aſhamed of a panegyrick he did not deſerve, put a period to his exiſtence, and gave the lie to the fulſome eulogiums of his paraſite, that has the aſſurance to make a parade of his virtues, and to talk of ſubmiſſion to the laws, reverence for the magiſtrates, and loyalty to the Throne?—The Throne that he has vilified, and ridiculed!

The crow contents itſelf with carrion, and battens on the moor; but this man, a glutton and an epicure, flies at higher game, and ſets repletion at defiance; it is not the common, ordinary food of birds or beaſts of prey that ſuits him—his voracious and inſatiate appetite muſt gormandize on dainties: and Kings, Miniſters, Admirals, Generals, and Nabobs, have all fallen in their turn under the venomous gripe of his rude and ſavage claws.

The brutal Philippic of Mr. Burke againſt M. de le Fayette, on the 17th inſt. in the Houſe of Commons, does not require to be contraſted with the mildneſs, equity, and liberality of Mr. Pitt, to render its malignity more evident.—It has been the misfortune of the former Gentleman, not only to have courted and eſpouſed error through life, but to have

* Vide the Parliamentary Debates on the Regency.

of the moſt temperate and juſt among them? The firſt name that occurs, in contemplating the convulſed, and diſaſtrous ſtate of France, is that

have perſiſted in it with a degree of obſtinacy and acrimony, ill ſuited to the ſituation to which his talents have raiſed him, and to that reſpect which he owes to himſelf and to others.—It has alſo been his misfortune to have kept bad company, not from neceſſity but choice, and on occaſions where we are led to ſuſpect that his principles are as much to be blamed as his taſte. From the maxims he has lately advanced, and the virulence which marks his language wherever he fatigues debate, it is evident that the Gentleman has become the echo of a claſs of Frenchmen, who, though mendicants and exiles, are no leſs reprehenſible than the Jacobins, whom he anathematizes with more than eccleſiaſtical rancour.

I am as little diſpoſed to think favourably of the latter as Mr. Burke, but if I were called upon to decide between theſe two deſcriptions of people, I ſhould be much puzzled to know to which of them the preference ought to be given.—It is really hard to decide which is the more noxious animal of the two, the MONKEY or the TYGER—I certainly would take neither of them to my arms.—It is not very creditable to this Gentleman, that he ſhould become the mouth-piece of a deſpicable herd of fugitives, to the full as void of principle as thoſe whom he reprobates; and it may not be amiſs to remind him, that it is not by ſuch language and ſuch doctrines, as thoſe to which he has accuſtomed himſelf of late, that the Engliſh Government is to be ſupported.—Its beſt friends; men who have been uniformly and paſſionately attached to the Conſtitution in all the guſts and tempeſts of faction, are not to be BULLIED into loyalty by the impudent menaces of an individual not very reſpectable or conſiſtent,

that of Orleans :—He had recourſe to the dangerous expedient of inviting the ſons and daughters of vice and wretchedneſs from their caves

and who has run up and down the notes of the political gamut, in all its various keys, until even diſcord ſickened at the ſound! Neither is it eaſy to ſeduce them to confide in the aſſertions of a man who receives his creed implicitly from the vagabond herd of eccleſiaſtical mountebanks, who are ſuffered to eat the bread of idleneſs through the miſtaken bounty of this country, and "*who encumber the land they* "*ought to fertilize.*"

I am vexed at the forward, not to ſay impudent zeal of Mr. Burke—a zeal too recent to be ſincere, and too officious to ſerve the cauſe to which he pretends ſuch violent attachment.—I am perſuaded it would be of much uſe to Government, if this Gentleman could be prevented from ſcribbling or prating.—His imagination, run wild, requires to be tempered by diſcretion; and he appears, by his late unmanly abuſe of a diſtreſſed and fallen object, to be as deficient in humanity as he is in judgment.

Magnificent ſentences from ſuch men may flatter the prejudices of thoſe who reſemble them, and tickle the ears of thoſe who prefer ſound to ſenſe, and declamation to truth; but the Government that looks up to ſuch beings for ſupport, miſerably deceives itſelf, and manifeſts a wiſh, rather to ſuſtain itſelf by fraud or violence than by equity and reaſon. We know that the Britiſh Government diſdains ſuch aid; that it holds in abhorrence ſuch means; it is therefore to undeceive thoſe who, uninformed of the purity of the preſent Adminiſtration, may be led to conſider Mr. Burke as the interpreter of their ſentiments, and attribute the nonſenſe, malignancy, and reveries of an intemperate, and ſometimes

inſane

caves and lurking places; and that the paſſions of theſe miſ-ſhapen knaves, naturally violent when let looſe from reſtraint, might be inflamed to

inſane individual, to an Adminiſtration to whom this country has the moſt ſerious obligations.—The country, well apprized of the danger with which the Conſtitution has been menaced, is firmly reſolved to ſupport Government with all its force; and with ſuch a ſupport, Miniſters can have nothing to hope, and ſurely they have nothing to fear, from the applauſe or cenſure of a man who has done little elſe than vibrate between extravagance of every kind, and who has proved himſelf to be, by the language he holds, and the principles he avows, much better qualified for a Satrap in Perſia, than the citizen of a free country.

A torrent of invective, as illiberal as it was copious and unprovoked, was not ſufficient to ſatisfy the ſpleen and ſavage animoſity of this Gentleman.—Not content with departing from the decorum of parliamentary debate, and wandering into a looſe, deſultory diſcourſe, irrelative to the queſtion, and certainly not very humane, he advanced charges unſupported by facts *, and threw out inſinuations to which the uniform conduct of M. de la Fayette, preſents a direct and complete refutation.—As a proof of the injuſtice offered to this forlorn victim of inexorable tyranny, whoſe lamentable condition affords matter of indecent merriment to the deſpicable Ariſtocracy of his own country, and of malignant triumph to Mr. Burke and his no leſs deſpicable aſſociates in this. I have given extracts from two letters, dated Paris, the 23d February, 1791, written by Mr. Miles, and addreſſed, one of them to Sir Edward Newenham, in Dublin, and the other to Henry James Pye, Eſq. at Teſtwood Lodge. Hants.—It is with the permiſſion of theſe Gentlemen that

 they

* Vide the Exculpation of M. de la Fayette at the end.

to the higheſt pitch, and qualified for deeds of darkneſs, the preſs was called in to flatter their power, and to drive them furious. No magic could

they are publiſhed; and as the writer of them is preparing his intereſting correſpondence, during his reſidence on the continent, for the preſs, there is no doubt but the character of an unfortunate individual will ſoon be vindicated by an authority much more reſpectable for its veracity than thoſe of his bitter and vindictive accuſer.

The extracts are as follow; and the candid are left to judge whether M. de la Fayette acted with that perfidy and hoſtility towards the Royal Family with which Mr. Burke has reproached him, not with the candour, or temperance of a Gentleman, but with the violence of a ruffian!

To Sir EDWARD NEWENHAM.

Paris, 23 Feb. 1791.

" *An immenſe crowd, preceded by the poiſſards, went laſt night to the Luxemburgh, in conſequence of a report that Monſieur was preparing to depart.—A deputation only was admitted; theſe be aſſured that,* " he never had a thought to ſeparate himſelf " from his country and his brother; and he gave his word " of honour that he would never forſake the King."—— *Upon which one of the women demanded,* " Mais ſi le Roi s'en " va?" *To which he anſwered—*" Qui eſt ce qui eſt ſi in- " digne de me faire une pareille queſtion?" *The deputation then inſiſted on ſeeing his wife.—He ſaid ſhe was at her toilette. No matter, they replied—they muſt and would ſee her, and finally Madame appeared.—A well dreſſed man came afterwards to the Tuilleries, and deſired to ſee Monſ. de la Fayette.—He was told that he was with the King.—He perſiſted on ſeeing him, and required he ſhould be ſent for.—La Fayette came, attended by two officers of the Municipality.—The man inſiſted on ſpeaking to him alone*

and

could afterwards charm theſe Calibans to reſt; and yet, my Lord, incredible as it will appear to future ages, we have our Trinculos and Stephanos,

and in private.—He ſaid that he had no ſecrets from theſe gentlemen, whoſe duty it was to be preſent; upon which this perſon informed your friend that " Monſieur was to leave Paris that " night, eſcorted by 1500 cavaliers, who were at the Lux- " emburgh and its environs."—*The anſwer of La Fayette does him honour.*—" Je vous donne ma parole d'honneur que ſi " Monſieur pars, je l'arreterai & puiſque les nouvelles que " vous venez de me donner ſont très importantes, je vous " arrête juſque ce que vous ayiez verifie le fait."

I really trembled for La Fayette when he pronounced the order for ſeizing this man; I was at his elbow, and expected to ſee the informer changed into an aſſaſſin—

The danger to which La Fayette is expoſed is incredible, and as he flies with alacrity on the leaſt alarm to the prtection of his impriſoned Sovereign, and as his vigilance is every where given in aid of a police enervated, diſjointed, and broken, he has incurred the ſuſpicion of being attached to the Court, and inimical to the people. He has great coolneſs as well as great firmneſs of mind, and great intrepidity, but his reſources are not equal to his courage; and as he is purſued with equal fury by thoſe who wiſh to ſupplant him in his command, and by thoſe who are reſolved to exterminate the Royal Family, his very loyalty will accompliſh his deſtruction. Believe me, my dear Newenham, that he will either fall by ſome ignoble hand, or be driven into exile; and this prediction of mine I have often repeated to him."

To HENRY JAMES PYE, *Eſq.*

Paris, 23 Feb. 1791.

" *Unpleaſant reports are in circulation, and which, if they obtain credit, muſt produce much miſchief and bloodſhed. It is ſaid*

that

phanos, impatient to pay court to the monſter, and poſſeſs the Iſle.

The Duke of Orleans, acting from the double motives of pique, and luſt of power, felt neither

that the King and Dauphin, with the Queen, were to follow Monſieur, whom I informed you in my laſt was preparing to get away privately.—It is alſo ſaid that 37,000 aſſaſſins, diſtributed in Paris, and armed with ſtilettos imported from Turin, ſome of which have been ſhewn to me, were to maſſacre the patriots in the metropolis, while the Emperor invaded France on the ſide of Brabant with a powerful army, and the Ariſtocracy roſe in the Provinces.—Here is a mine, my dear Sir, ſufficient to blow up the Thuilleries in an inſtant; in conſequence of which, the Luxemburgh, which is the reſidence of Monſieur, was inveſted by the mob before eight o'clock laſt night, and he was conducted in diſgraceful triumph to the Chateau of his hapleſs brother, followed and menaced by the rabble.—It was with extreme difficulty that the people were reſtrained from violence.

" *Cannon were placed before the entrance of the Thuilleries; the matches were lighted, and the gunners had directions to fire on the firſt alarm.*

" *The mob becoming clamorous, inſiſted on extirpating every veſtige of Royalty, and but for the undaunted and decided conduct of La Fayette, would have aſcended to the apartments of the King and Queen, in which caſe I am convinced that neither of them would have beheld the* " morrow's dawn."—*It was the firm manner in which La Fayette acted that impoſed on the multitude, and obtained a reſpite for the lives of the King and Queen, whom you may be aſſured will certainly periſh in ſome of theſe tumults.—I was preſent at this diſtreſſing ſcene, and was aſtoniſhed to find the King more collected and leſs alarmed than the Mayor. I deſcended from the royal apartments, and mixing with the mob, perceived*

ther ſhame nor remorſe at aſſociating with men of the loweſt rank and moſt abandoned characters.—In the commencement of his political career,

ceived ſeveral faces among them whom I remember to have ſeen on better occaſions, and in better places.

" *My indignation provoked me to deliver my ſentiments to the miſguided populace with the ſame unreſerved freedom as I have tranſmitted them to you, for which my friends here tax me with indiſcretion*—mais c'etait plus fort que moi.—*I cannot bear that either inſult or oppreſſion ſhould be offered to others any more than to myſelf; and on theſe occaſions, rank and extravagant as the Quixotiſm may appear to you, I always feel diſpoſed to make a common cauſe with the wretched, and vindicate their rights.*"

Of what nature is the humanity of Mr. Burke, that mocked the agonizing pangs of his country in the hour of alarm for its beloved Sovereign, and that now weeps ſo abundantly over an outcaſt crew of mitred hypocrites, whoſe practical atheiſm has been infinitely more injurious to morals and religion, than all the wild and incoherent ſpeculations of Voltaire and Rouſſeau?

What are we to call this new-fangled zeal for Majeſty which has lately blazed forth with ſuch uncommon violence in Mr. Burke? What are thoſe new doctrines of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance which he has the effrontery to bellow in our ears, as the meaſure of our duty, and the criterion of our affections? Is it from this man that we are to learn our obligations to the King and to his Government? From the man whoſe whole life almoſt has been marked by a ſteady, uninterrupted, and ſometimes ferocious oppoſition to the Crown?

reer, it was Orleans, Mirabeau, Barnave, and Co. but as the rabble, invited by the profuſion of their Chief, accumulated and acquired force, they

Crown? From the man whoſe ſudden and extraordinary converſion was leſs a matter of ſurprize to the world, who knew him *little*, than to his aſſociates, who thought they knew him *well*?—Is it this man, who "*ſtiff in opinion, ever in the wrong*," that bends his proud knee to offended Majeſty, and whoſe mind, become pliant, yields to the authority it ſpurned? Is it Mr. Burke who has treated royalty like a very drab, that pretends to a purer loyalty than the reſt of the nation, and that would teach us what a Britiſh ſubject owes to a Britiſh Sovereign? Is it to his warehouſe that we are to refort in future, not for fair and rational allegiance, ſuch as the laws and Conſtitution preſcribe and authorize, but for that unqualified ſubmiſſion to undefined power which has been prohibited, decried, and reprobated as dangerous and infamous ever ſince the year 1688, and which this Jeſuit in politics, as well as in religion, would ſmuggle back into the country, and deal out to us in portions ſufficient to diſguſt and provoke revolt in the verieſt ſlave under the ancient Gabel laws in France?—Is it this camelion that receives its hue from the tranſitory influence of paſſing objects, that pretends to beſtow on others a permanent and never-fading complexion? Away with ſuch impertinence; and attached as we are to our Sovereign from gratitude and affection; bound as we are by duty and by intereſt to ſupport the laws and Conſtitution of our country, let us reject the inſolent mandates of this high prieſt—who arrogates to himſelf the right of dictating to us in matters of Government, and who pretends to be the only loyal ſubject within his Majeſty's dominions.—— Let us leave this ſovereign pontiff of a new deſcription to la-

ment

they claimed a ſhare in the profitable buſineſs, of revolutions, and preſently engroſſed the whole trade to themſelves; they even found themſelves in a condition to eſtabliſh ſimilar factories in other countries, and had the addreſs to engage men of rank and fortune, but of little ſenſe, and leſs diſcretion, in the hazardous enterprize of overſetting States and Empires.—Before this final change took place, M. Orleans found himſelf compelled to turn out his old, and receive new partners.—The firm was afterwards changed to Orleans, Danton, Robeſpierre, Barrere, and Marat.—But the firſt name ſoon gave place to the latter; and as theſe have ſince periſhed, one by the guillotine, and the other by a poignard, the triumvirate that remains have continued for the moment to monopolize the entire trade.——How long they will be allowed to carry it on belongs to pro-

ment that he cannot introduce in this happy country, Baſtiles, Lettres de Cachet, and all the other diſgraceful implements of Deſpotiſm.

Let us leave him to conſole the wretched *congregation* of *barefooted Carmelites* whom he has aſſembled at Beconsfield, and whom he feeds with the vain hope of reſtoring to the land from which they have been deſervedly driven: It is time to leave him to his reflections, with this admonition, however, that if he treſpaſſes again on the good ſenſe of the nation, I will purſue him until he turns, like the enraged viper, on himſelf, and expires by his own poiſon.

phecy to foretell, and to time to reveal.——My buſineſs is merely to ſubmit theſe facts to your conſideration, and to enquire what right your grace has to expect better treatment than thoſe who have gone before you in the dangerous experiment of diſturbing the public mind, and oppoſing the meaſures of Government?—I have no doubt but the pennyleſs cobler in Piccadilly, who having no longer any boots or ſhews to vamp, has undertaken to new vamp the State, would have no objections to your name ſtanding firſt in the partnerſhip. But let the gentleman traffic on the credit of your name, and call for ſupplies from your pocket, and how long do you think your Grace will be allowed the diſtinction, or enjoy the *priſage on wines* *?

Believe me, my Lord, it would ſoon be Hardy and Grafton, or rather, Hardy and Fitzroy, perhaps Palmer†, not only to remind you of your origin, but in hatred to the word King in any language; and thus degraded and bap-

* Part of his income. Vide the grant of Charles II.

† Charles the Second, forgetting that nobility without virtue is exalted infamy, created this woman Ducheſs of Cleveland; and according to the hiſtorian, ſhe was "*prodi-*
"*gal, rapacious, diſſolute, violent, and revengeful.*"
Hume's Hiſtory, vol. vii. page 392.

tized,

tized, your Grace would be compelled to chaunt in uniſon with your companion—

" We'll new vamp the State,
" The Church we'll tranſlate,
" Old ſhoes are no more worth their mending."

Whether your Grace has a taſte or voice for ſinging, I know not, but I can eaſily believe that ſuch airs, and in ſuch company, would not vibrate ſweet muſic to your ear.—Under ſuch diſtreſſing circumſtances, humbled, ruined, and ſtung with remorſe, it is poſſible you might be provoked, but from a better motive, to follow the example of the Duke of Orleans, and demand, at ſome ſection or municipality, another name, in the poor and wretched hope that your former rank and ſplendor would be forgotten in the change.—What was the effect of a mean and abject ſervility in the moſt infamous of the Bourbons, would, I am willing to believe, be the reſult of pride in your Grace, to hide your ſhame; but contrition would then be too late. Giving your Grace, however, credit for the oſtenſible motives of your conduct, on what ground, permit us to enquire, of fair and reaſonable hope could you recommend his Majeſty to propoſe overtures of peace, without being previouſly aſſured that they would be accepted, or at leaſt attended to by the enemy?—Are you certain

that a ceſſation of hoſtilities would be a meaſure of policy, on the part of France, at this moment—or that it is even practicable?—Do you know for certain, my Lord, that it would be as deſirable an object to the French Convention, without any preparatory ſteps to reconcile men's minds to ſuch an event, as it unqueſtionably would be under certain conditions to this country? Are there no other difficulties in the way of peace, but thoſe which have been attributed with ſuch little decency to the paſſions and intereſts of a few individuals?—"*Would there be* "*no danger in France receiving ſuddenly into her* "*boſom an enormous population, diſtributed into* "*fifteen armies, and accuſtomed to every ſpecies* "*of diſſolute licentiouſneſs?*"—What, in the name of that humanity which you profeſs, would be the conduct and purſuits of a diſbanded multitude, permitted to run riot in the very center of that diſtracted country, in which the exiſting laws are too weak to afford protection to thoſe who actually inhabit it?

Theſe circumſtances ſhould have been well conſidered, before your Grace took ſhare in a debate, the reſult of which is ſo little likely to anſwer either the avowed or ſecret purpoſe of the man who propoſed and commenced it.—— I have hitherto addreſſed your Grace, in the firſt perſon plural; from a conviction, that in

delivering

delivering my ſentiments, I was delivering thoſe of my country; but as I ſhall have occaſion to refer to papers and to letters within my own knowledge, and ſome of which are in my poſſeſſion; as it will be neceſſary to quote private authorities, and which for very obvious reaſons, muſt remain anonymous; I ſhall hereafter ſpeak immediately from myſelf, and take my chance for my correſpondence and aſſertions obtaining that credit, which I know to be due to them.——I do not venture on raſh and ill-founded aſſertions—I ſpeak from authority, from clear and indiſputable teſtimony, from the evidence of men well qualified to pronounce, and certainly much better informed, my Lord, than either of us of the temper of their country, and of its diſpoſition and capacity for peace—Of men, who, convinced that wars engender and multiply crimes, are as anxious for peace as your Grace, and who would chearfully co-operate in terminating a conteſt, which only adds to the afflicting catalogue of human wretchedneſs.

My channels of information are to the full as authentic, and as reſpectable as thoſe of your Noble Colleague, without my having recourſe to the dangerous expedient of a clandeſtine correſpondence with the *enemies* of my country, or to the diſhonourable means of preſerving it, by commu-

communications which impeach the loyalty of the citizen.—It is on the credit of the authority to which I allude, that I inform your Grace, France is not in a ſituation even to liſten to overtures of peace, much leſs to propoſe them; and that no doubt of her deplorable condition ſhould remain, I ſubjoin the copy of a letter *, dated the 7th ultimo, which will prove the

* "Je penſe comme vous, que la France peut faire les "premières ouvertures ſans ſe degrader, parceque le puncti-"lio diplomatique très convenables aux Miniſtres des Rois, "ne convient plus guère à une nation, dont la philoſophie "(quoiqu'on en diſe) a commencé & achevera la regenera-"tion, & parceque cette nation a develloppé une energie "ſans exemple dans les faſtes de l'hiſtoire—Mais je dois vous "faire part des difficultés que je prevois.

"Je connois votre philantrophie, & j'ai du regret que les "circonſtances m'otent tout eſpoir de voir de ſitôt, une fin "à la guerre—Ne penſez donc plus à preſent à la paix.

"Si c'eſt une paix partielle l'Angleterre n'y conſentiroit "pas; ſi c'eſt une paix generale, je doute ſi la France y con-"ſentiroit—Elle eſt devenue un camp, & les Français ſe ſont "faits tous ſoldats.

"Seroit-il donc prudent de rappeller bruſquement dans ſes "foyers cette maſſe enorme repartie en quinze armées? Ne "ſerait-il pas à craindre que cette rupture violente des gouts, "de la licence, &c. militaires, ne nous replongeât dans des "nouveaux troubles? et la politique ne conſeillerait elle pas "de conſerver un aliment etranger à l'inquiétude d'eſprit, & "à la ſurabondance d'activité qu'une guerre de cette nature "a dû neceſſairement develloppper? Je vous ai parlé dan

tou

the very little proſpect there is of putting an end to the complicated miſeries which deſolate Europe, and menace the world with a prolongation of a war, diſaſtrous beyond doubt to all the parties concerned, but much leſs ſo to this country than to the powers on the continent, and in which Miniſters, with every diſpoſition to terminate it that policy or humanity can ſuggeſt, muſt perſevere until France is in a ſituation, we will not ſay to propoſe peace, but to accept it, without the riſque of plunging herſelf into freſh, and greater difficulties, than thoſe under which ſhe at preſent labours.

The letter from which the annexed extract is taken, was written by one of the moſt intelligent, and beſt informed men in France. By the man, my Lord, who, whenever the ſeaſon of negotiation arrives, will moſt probably be charged with the pleaſing and important miſſion, to the Britiſh court. To an excellent underſtanding, he unites an integrity, that is incorruptible; and if the reſt of his countrymen, poſſeſſed his virtues, and his talents, France would have eſcaped the miſeries, to which ſhe has been a prey, ever ſince her weak and perfidious Monarch, preferred holding the ſceptre

" tout ceci, mon cher ami, à cœur ouvert, & je laiſſe à
" votre prudence, & à votre amitie, la determination de l'u-
" ſage que vous en pouvez faire."

by

by corruption, and ſecret intrigue, to the magnanimity of reſigning, or defending it like a man. The danger which my correſpondent apprehends would ariſe from the ſudden and abrupt diſſolution of the armies of the Republic, is far from being chimerical. The miſchiefs which he ſuppoſes would enſue, from the change of habits, paſſions, and military licenſe, to that decency, order, and ſubmiſſion, compatible with the peace of civil ſociety, are experienced to a certain degree in this country at the cloſe of every war. It is not in an inſtant, that the morals and manners of mankind are to be changed, and we have learnt from your Grace, that ſome diſpoſitions *can never* be corrected. If robberies and murders, are more frequent in England whenever her military eſtabliſhments are reduced; and riot and diſorder prevail until the diſbanded troops fall inſenſibly under the dominion of the magiſtrate; how much more has France to fear, from the licenſe and violence, of ſix hundred thouſand ruffians, let looſe in a country, where no other right is acknowledged, but the right of the ſtrongeſt, and in which the civil part of the community are not in a condition, to reſiſt any claims, which the military may urge, or to puniſh any inſults which an unbridled ſoldiery may offer? Under circumſtances no leſs imperious, than they are diſtreſſing,

diſtreſſing, it is evident, that France could not accept of peace were it offered to her; and, as the dilemma into which ſhe has precipitated herſelf cannot be a ſecret, either to your Grace, or to the Marquis of Lanſdown, we are authoriſed to queſtion the purity of your motives, for propoſing a meaſure impracticable in its execution, and, which, if it had been attempted, would ultimately have deprived this country of her allies, and Holland, perhaps, of her independence: For what ſecurity could poſſibly be given, and (judging of the former by the paſt) what reaſon have we to ſuppoſe, that the Auſtrian Netherlands, and the ſeven United Provinces, would not be over-run, the inſtant the Combined Powers laid down their arms?

With the certainty, almoſt, of ſuch an event taking place, whenever every check and reſtraint on France ſhall be removed, what would the Miniſter deſerve, who would council the King to a ſtep of ſuch imminent riſque; and what claim can thoſe have to the confidence of the nation, who would engage Parliament to addreſs the throne, for a purpoſe, which, if granted, would extend the evils, and prolong the calamities they affect to deplore? Shame upon a conduct, ſo ſcandalous and corrupt. It has not even the plea of ignorance to urge in excuſe.

Neither is it the haſty and intemperate deciſion of a benevolent mind, warm in its purſuits and attachments, and viewing peace in the abſtract as a ſuperlative good, paſſes over with the rapidity of thought, and the ardour of paſſion, all the various combination and relations, by which it becomes either a miſchief, or a bleſſing to ſociety.

I do not know, that there is any thing perverſe in my underſtanding, or imperfect in my conception of things. I am ſure there is nothing ſervile in my diſpoſition, and, that I am not of a temper, to ſupport the meaſures of any man, or ſet of men, without the fulleſt conviction of their juſtice and expediency. But, to talk of peace to a nation, which, if it was diſpoſed to hear it, is not in a condition to receive it, and dares not accept it, is the extreme of folly, or ſomething worſe, and can have no other object in view. but to impreſs the people in this country, with an idea, as pernicious, as it is ill founded; that the war is not only an aggreſſion on our part, but wantonly continued againſt men "*cordially diſpoſed to treat for peace, if the Bri-*
"*tiſh cabinet was not pledged to reſtore the ancient*
"*deſpotiſm in France*; as ſome pains," and an infinite degree of art have been employed, to render theſe opinions general, it may not be improper

to

to examine their relation with the fact, and leave thoſe whom it was intended to deceive, to draw their concluſion. It has been already ſtated, in a late publication,* that the war was unavoidable, and a perſon *(qui eſt pour beaucoup dans la revolution)* has had the candour to own, that it was an aggreſſion, not on the part of England, as Mr. Francis had the impertinence to aſſert in the Houſe of Commons, on the 6th inſtant; but on that of the Executive Council, whom it is acknowledged, "*could only have been withheld from a declaration of hoſtilities, by a poſitive aſſurance, that no interruption would be given by this country, to the proſecution of the war againſt the Emperor; for as to the Court of Berlin, the Convention, acquainted as it was, with its perfidy and venality; made no ſcruple to declare, that the King of Pruſſia, who had received the Dutch, Brabançons, and Liegeois, neither excited uneaſineſs nor alarm, as they could always in caſe of neceſſity, purchaſe the man who was ready to ſell himſelf to the higheſt bidder.*" It is not my buſineſs to enquire what degree of affinity this cenſure has to truth; I ſhall only obſerve, that the beſt anſwer which his Pruſſian Majeſty can give to a ca-

* Vide, "*the conduct of France towards Great Britain examined, with an Appendix and Notes, by Mr. Miles.*" Printed for G. Nicol, Pall-Mall.

lumny ſo atrocious, is a faithful diſcharge of his engagements with other powers. In return for this expected neutrality on the part of Great Britain, a neutrality no leſs diſhonourable in itſelf, than it would have been dangerous in its conſequences, a faint promiſe was given, not to attack the United Provinces, and that we might judge at once, of the truth and conſiſtency of the French Executive Council, the navigation of the Scheldt, which involved in it the ruin of Amſterdam, was declared to be free. The conventional army was alſo in poſſeſſion of Liege, Brabant, and Flanders, while a banditti, calling themſelves the States of Holland, were collecting a force on the Dutch frontiers, compoſed of the outcaſts of all nations, by whom Maeſtricht was to be ſummoned, and in caſe of refuſal, France, in the aſſumed character of an *Ally*, was to have been invited to reduce it.

The milder mode of ſtratagem, was, however preferred; a paſſage was requeſted in form, for the troops of the French Republic, and as a proof of the *pacific temper* with which the demand was made, and of the *good faith* with which the conditions would have been kept: Preparations were made for bombarding the town into a compliance, the inſtant permiſſion was denied.

Such

Such inſtances of an *amicable* diſpoſition, very frequently occurred, and my correſpondent has very candidly confeſſed, "*que les hoſtilités ſourdes et cachées contre L'Angleterre n'étaient pas moins actives et réelles qu'une provocation ouverte.*"

I will not remind your Grace of the efforts of the French Emiſſaries to excite inſurrections in the kingdom, nor of the ſeveral decrees of the National Convention, which, anticipating theſe inſurrections, offered ſuccour and fraternity to thoſe, who would erect the ſtandard of revolt, againſt monarchy and nobility.

Theſe facts are of ſuch general notoriety, and ſo fully eſtabliſhed, that it would be impertinent to repeat them. My object is merely to convince you, that, as the aggreſſion was not on the part of Great Britain, and as France in her preſent lamentable ſituation, and under the preſſure of multiplied embarraſſments, can neither offer nor accept of peace, the motion of Lord Lanſdowne was premature, and more likely to produce miſchief than good, by miſleading the public mind in both nations. Well diſpoſed, but half informed men in this country, would naturally ſuppoſe peace to be within the eaſy reach of miniſters, when a motion to that effect was made in Parliament by a peer, ſuppoſed to have the beſt intelligence of any man in Europe, and who has filled the higheſt department in

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the ſtate. The ſame error, but to a much greater extent, was no leſs likely to prevail in France, from the partizans of the noble Lord having endeavoured to promulgate an opinion in *that* country, that "*he poſſeſſes the entire confidence* "*of the people in this, and that on the queſtion* "*in favour of an immediate peace, his Lordſhip* "*and the bulk of the Engliſh nation, have but* "*one opinion.*" In order the more effectually to bring the Parliament and Miniſters into diſcredit in France, every expedient has been tried to degrade the one, and to excite a clamour againſt the other, with a view, that whenever the ſeaſon of negotiation arrives, the "*diſmiſſion of the latter ſhould be inſiſted upon as preliminary to all treaty.*"*

I will

* The private letters from this country, to certain people in Paris, dated laſt December, announced, that "*the Miniſter deferred meeting of Parliament, until he had ſecured a majority diſpoſed to comply with whatever was preſcribed to them.*" An attempt has alſo been made to ſeduce the French into an engagement, "*not to treat for peace with Mr. Pitt,*" as if the intereſts of a great nation were to be interrupted by an attention to *names*, inſtead of *things*. I felt ſome degree of mortification, in reading the letter which related theſe diſhonourable proceedings, and in publiſhing the extract, I indulge the hope, that in the courſe of circulation, it may poſſibly come round, to the party with whom it originated, and ſhame them out of a conduct, no leſs derogatory to the character of an Engliſhman, than it is pitiful and indecent. The letter which

I will not comment on ſuch unfair practices, but the pride of the nation is concerncd in vindicating the juſt prerogatives of the Britiſh crown,

which I received, is dated the 27th ult. and while it expoſes the unfair conduct of an oppoſition, drawn off, as it were, to the Lees, it proves that the ſad remnant of what was once reſpectable, enjoy as little credit in France, as in England; and that the National Convention knows preciſely to what extent theſe gentlemen are entitled to its eſteem and confidence.

" Ne vous trompez pas mon cher ami, nous reçevons de tems en tems des details aſſez exactes de l'Angleterre, et voici ce qu'on nous en a mandé il y a à peu près un mois." " *On a marché de prorogation en prorogation, car il faut plus que jamais que Mr. Pitt ſoit ſûr de ſon fait, avant de convoquer le Parlement; une complaiſante majorité va donc faire tout ce qu'on lui preſcrira. Nous ne ſommes pas fachés d'apprendre que des reproches ſe levent en France de toutes parts contre notre Miniſtère; nous voyons avec plaiſir que ſi l'on venu la paix l'idée ſeule de traiter avec Mr. Pitt fera tout echouer, conſequemment le parti qui vous eſt devoué ſuccédera au Miniſtère.*"

" N'eſt-ce pas aſſez plaiſant que tandis que votre Parlement et votre Miniſtère nous traitent de regicides, de Carmagnoles, et de *ſans culottes*, l'autre parti nous temoigne de la conſideration et de l'amitié, mais grâce à nos malheurs, nous connaiſſons votre parti de l'oppoſition auſſi bien que votre Miniſtère, et nous avons à peu près autant de confiance pour l'un que pour l'autre."

Here is a diſcovery of foul play, which, conſidering the hazard with which it was attended, proves that the RISQUE was infinitely greater than the STAKE. That every effort, and every art which men, verſed in all the chicanery of political intrigue can deviſe, ſhould be employed to diſcredit Miniſters

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crown, and reſiſting every attempt that may be made by any foreign power, to dictate to an Engliſh ſovereign, to what perſons he ſhall confide the adminiſtration of his affairs.

As to the latter opinion, which has been propagated with ſo much induſtry, "*That it is the intention of the combined powers to reſtore the ancient Government in France*," it cannot deſerve any notice, until there is ſufficient evidence of the fact,

in this country, in order to ſupplant them, may be eaſily imagined; but that faction ſhould attempt to raiſe a clamour againſt Mr. Pitt in France, with a view to indiſpoſe that country againſt having any communication with him, at the very moment that they were preſſing him to make offers, which they ſuſpected would be ſpurned from motives of perſonal hatred, is a melancholy inſtance of the deſpicable ſhifts, and unpardonable meanneſſes, to which men will deſcend to gratify their reſentment or ambition.

It is to be hoped, that the nation will attend to this fact, and be on its guard againſt ſimilar deceptions in future. If the miſchievous motions of Lord Lanſdowne had been adopted, and the French had declined treating with Mr. Pitt, as they were requeſted to do, his removal would have followed of courſe, and his adverſaries would have had the ſatisfaction of having jockied Miniſtry and Parliament moſt completely, *and in a* manner as ingenious, as it was profligate and unprecedented.

Happily the motions were rejected, and what is of no leſs importance at this moment, the efforts to precipitate the Convention into a reſolution, not to treat for peace with the preſent Minlſtry, have ſerved only to expoſe the guilt and duplicity of thoſe who had recourſe to them.

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and until ſuch a deſign is avowed or made evident, from corroborating circumſtances, it is unneceſſary to comment on the folly and iniquity, attributed to ſuch an intention.

It is unworthy of your underſtanding, or of mine, my Lord, to combat phantoms, and much more ſo to create them. I ſhall only obſerve, that the nation that undertakes to reſtore monarchy in France, as it was, previous to the Revolution in 1789, muſt have reſolved to play double or quits, and for engaging in an enterprize ſo extravagant, ſo full of peril, and certainly as infamous as it would be hazardous, deſerves to loſe the game.

The object of the preſent conteſt, as I underſtand it, is merely to reſtore order in a country, whoſe maxims have endangered the peace of other nations, and until this deſirable object is obtained, I do not ſee how we can, conſiſtently with our own internal ſafety, ſheath the ſword which we have been forced to draw in defence, not of a vain point of honour, but of our acres, of our fire ſides,—of our wives and of our children.—Whenever theſe can be aſſured to us,—Whenever the foul and ſanguinary project is relinquiſhed, of ſeducing a numerous and virtuous peaſantry to aſſaſſinate their landlords, and uſurp their property; whenever the wicked expedient is renounced, of compelling our manu-

facturers and huſbandmen to abandon peaceful agriculture, and forſake wholeſome reputable labour, for carnage, diſſipation, and every ſpecies of military licence, and whenever the country can repoſe in confidence on the faith of the new Government in France, there is not a man, I am perſuaded, either in or out of Parliament, that would not chearfully vote for cloſing the conteſt.

But circumſtanced as we are, and contending, not to ſupport the pride and pageantry of Kings, but for intereſts infinitely dearer to us than either, and without which exiſtence, would be a curſe, not a bleſſing, We muſt fight it out.—We have no alternative, and the combat muſt laſt, my Lord, while France continues iniquitous and inſane, or until ſhe is incapacitated for farther hoſtility. Until one of theſe events happen, we cannot, dare not, talk of peace. The French themſelves avow, "*that ſuch a meaſure is at preſent premature, by being incompatible with their internal ſafety*," and would it be leſs ſo with that of ours, my Lord?

The French ſee to the full as much danger in the return of peace, as your Grace can poſſibly apprehend from the continuation of the war; and under theſe circumſtances, forced as we have been into the conteſt, and compelled to perſevere in it, not only in ſelf-defence, but

from the inability of our enemies to conclude it. What remedy have we but in our ſtrength? What hope but in our exertions, and our fortitude?

Having premiſed thus much to your Grace, I will not diſſemble, that the offer of peace on ſuch conditions as the Miniſter could liſten to, and the nation receive in ſafety, would afford much conſolation to a mind not apt to deſpond. But really, my Lord, with all my rooted averſion to war, and with all my anxiety for that calm, ſo neceſſary to the ſafety and felicity of mankind; I do not ſee any immediate proſpect of ſo deſireable an event, but on the contrary, a ſucceſſion of obſtacles, ariſing from a ſucceſſion of blunders and of crimes, and which are likely to continue, until debility incapacitates both parties for further hoſtility, or until one of them falls in the conteſt. "*C'eſt une guerre à* "*mort, & dans un combat à mort il faut vaincre* "*ou mourir.*"

Such was the language of M. Le Brun*, and of ſome other members of the French Executive

* Le Brun, Secretary of State for foreign affairs. This man has ſince been dragged to the ſcaffold, and his dawn of exiſtence, contraſted with its meridian and ſetting, proves how very much human life is the ſport of contingencies; how it depends upon accident, and how very circumſcribed

tive Council, in November 1792, who, intoxicated with the victories of Dumourier, and as ignorant of our reſources, as they appeared to have been too confident in their own, prepared for hoſtilities in the full perſuaſion, that if they could not *bully* us, they could CRUSH us. Preſſed as we were, and expoſed to all that violence could offer, or chicane deviſe: in danger of being ultimately beggard, maſſacred, and what is worſe, diſhonoured, if we ſubmitted to the harſh and inſolent conditions which were exacted, and certain, at leaſt, of eſcaping the infamy of the laſt, if we reſiſted: your Grace muſt confeſs, that the alternative of war, was better than that of peace, even if it had been allowed us, but the precipitancy of the Convention, put the latter entirely out of the queſtion, and as we could not decline the combat, muſt we not abide by the conſequences? Surely, my Lord, you would not remind us of your affinity to James the Second,

are the views and capacities of mankind! This miſerable but unlamented victim, had been a common ſoldier; he afterwards obtained his diſcharge, and became an adventurer, but being of mean origin, and unprotected by a court ever ready to patronize crimes from which it derived an advantage, he was compelled to fly from his country. He returned to it after the revolution, with a legion of other proſcribed vagabonds; became Secretary of State, and was executed. Valoit-il la peine Monſeigneur d'être Miniſtre d'état pour perir le moment après ſur l'echafaud?

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by counſelling us to ſound a retreat before the battle commences? Your noble colleague, who has long been a trader in bad omens, diſcovers nothing but ruin in the conteſt, and pronounces the nation to be undone, if ſhe fires another gun in the quarrel.

He ſaid exactly the ſame thing of the American war, yet his country ſpurning the *death warrant* of his Lordſhip, ſeems to have acquired a new leaſe of ſtrong political life, and certainly enjoys better health than ever *.

With a view to frighten us into peace, the noble Marquis has aſſured us, that the laſt campaign was DISASTROUS! *Diſaſtrous*, my Lord! does conqueſt mean defeat, in the vocabulary of his Lordſhip, or have the herd of literary ſycophants, whom his miſtaken bounty feeds, formed a new dictionary, in which every word has a ſenſe, aſſigned to it contrary to its general and eſtabliſhed import? If not; on what ground can either your Grace, or his Lordſhip, call the laſt campaign DISASTROUS? Is the recovery of Holland from the dominion of France, a DISASTER? Can the repreſſing of her armies within her northern frontiers, breaking the ſpirit of thoſe armies, and reducing ſome of her frontier towns, be called DISASTROUS?——Are the final extinction of the French power, and

* Vide Chalmers' Eſtimate of the Comparative Strength of Great-Britain—Printed for Stockdale, Piccadilly.

the total deſtruction of all the French ſettlements in Aſia, with an arſenal conſumed, her navy crippled, and her commerce ruined, DISASTERS? If ſo, your Grace may add to this diſtreſſing catalogue of misfortunes, the entire expulſion of the French from the Newfoundland fiſhery, and the acquiſition of the moſt valuable part of St. Domingue* to the Britiſh empire.—Such are the fruits derived from our exertions in the laſt campaign, and will your Grace preſume to qualify as DISASTROUS, what evidently leads not only to the extenſion of the power and commerce of your country, but to her ſecurity, as well as proſperity?

It is not very candid to bewail as unfortunate, and to repreſent as calamitous in the extreme, what, if they had been acquired under his Lordſhip's adminiſtration, would have been trumpetted forth by ſcribblers of all ſizes, as the ſuggeſtions of wiſdom, and the heroic atchievements of valour. This conduct in his Lordſhip, betrays a partiality for his own judgment, and opinion of his own parts, which happily

* The annual exports from the French part of this Iſland, on an average for the laſt three years, previous to the Revolution, amounted to upwards of ſeven millions ſterling; all that wealth will now flow into this country, and what is of no leſs conſequence to its grandeur and opulence, it will open a market of conſiderable extent for every deſcription of Britiſh manufactures.

ſcr the publicly intereſt, are not current in the nation, nor very likely to obtain any credit, beyond the confines of Berkley Square. That the conduct of the war ſhould be arraigned by thoſe who deny the neceſſity, or diſpute the expediency of it, is very natural. It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they will avail themſelves of every opportunity, to depreciate a meaſure, which they condemn, and endeavour to prove its fallacy and abſurdity, by the means which are taken to enſure its ſucceſs. The matter of ſurpriſe is, that men qualified to give an opinion on a queſtion of ſuch moment, ſhould have a doubt as to the juſtice of reſiſting unprovoked aggreſſion, and the neceſſity of ſupporting the Miniſter with ZEAL and UNANIMITY, in repelling an injury, not of a partial or perſonal nature, but of vaſt and general extent, in which the comfort and ſecurity of the peaſant, is no leſs endangered than thoſe of the prince. It is the cottage, as well as the palace that is threatened; and in a cauſe ſo univerſal, which includes all deſcriptions, ranks, profeſſions, and ſexes, in which the property of every individual, with all his natural and acquired rights, are brought into hazard and menaced with ruin, it would argue the extreme of cowardice, not to defend them with an ardor proportioned to their value, and ſtill more atrocious would it be to relinquiſh them without

without a ſtruggle. That Miniſters may have erred in ſome particular inſtances as to the general policy which this country ought to obſerve towards the other powers of Europe, may be very poſſible, and it is equally poſſible that the equity and moderation of princes, may be to the full as hypothetical, as the rectitude of thoſe who oppoſe them, but the virtue of either or both, being equivocal, is no reaſon why the war into which country has been hurried by the madneſs and crimes of France, ſhould not be proſecuted with vigour, and ſupported with fortitude. It is not my inttention to palliate blunders, or to flatter royalty. The intereſts of ſociety would be betrayed, not ſupported by ſuch conceſſions, and the ſtake at iſſue is of more value in my eſtimation, than the favour of Miniſters, or the ſmiles of the Court. But on this occaſion no blame can be imputed to the one, no danger can ariſe from defending the other. The former have an arduous and difficult taſk to execute. Is it fair; Is it liberal; I will aſk if it is patriotic? Nay, my Lord, is it either decent or honeſt in your Grace, to force them, as it were from the great objects that occupy their attention; from the perilous duties in which they are engaged, to the unimportant conſiderations of propoſitions fallacious in the extreme, dangerous to diſcuſs, and which, if adopted,

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would be productive of much ſerious miſchief, not only to Government, but to every individual in the empire? It is not very eaſy to penetrate into the minds of men and diſcover the ſecret ſprings of action; nor is it altogether fair to interpret them at random. I know of no other method to judge of their purity or baſeneſs, than by that reputation which every man at a certain time of life has eſtabliſhed in the opinion of the world, or, by the perſonal intereſt which he may have in what he recommends to others, or undertakes to perform himſelf.

Try the motion of your noble colleague, my Lord, by this criterion, and truſt me there will be but one opinion on the ſubject throughout the empire!

He has propoſed peace in the pleaſing hope, no doubt of being called upon to make it, and not without the no leſs pleaſing hope perhaps of making as much by it as report ſays he did make by the laſt.——"*Bleſſed are the* "*peace makers, for they ſhall be called the chil-* "*dren of God.*"* But his Lordſhip's ambition is not of that deſcription:—He is more modeſt, and ſatisfied with reward upon earth, is willing to take his chance for the bleſſing hereafter with the reſt of mankind. That the ſitua-

* See Matthew, chap. v. verſe 9.

tion of Europe is calamitous and precarious cannot be diſputed; nor am I without very ſerious apprehenſions for the iſſue of this tremendous conflict; but the courage of mankind is never ſo well tried as by events; and States as well as individuals are often indebted to great and extraordinary occaſions for a knowledge of their force and reſources. It is the characteriſtic of timid minds to ſhrink from conteſt the moment it is offered—It is the curſe of bold ones to ruſh into hazard, and truſt to accident for a favourable iſſue; but the mind conſcious of its rectitud', and collected within itſelf, meets with becoming fortitude the evils it cannot avoid, and truſting to its vigour and reſources, is alike prepared for triumph or ſubmiſſion. The perils which ſurround us are unqueſtionably of a nature to excite alarm, but not to juſtify deſpondency: for who, my Lord, will have the effrontery to aſſert that our reſources are not equal to the occaſion? Who would have the baſeneſs to ſurrender the independence, the honour, and dignity of the nation to an aſſemblage of ruffians ſtained with the blood of their wretched countrymen, and who are only held together by an excitement to freſh crimes, or the dread of puniſhment for the paſt?—Is it to ſuch mercileſs beings, for you cannot call them human, that your Grace would ſacrifice the pride and intereſts,

intereſts of Great Britain? Is it before ſuch men, my Lord, that you would wiſh to ſee the unſubdued ſpirit of your country fall proſtrate? Is it from ſuch men that you would meanly implore that peace as a favour, which they may ſoon be compelled to ſolicit from your mercy? Is it from France, diſhonoured, bankrupt, and undone;—is it from France deſolated and diſgraced by crime, where even MURDER, pauſing in blood, ſtands aghaſt at the ruin ſhe has made! that Britain on her knees is to receive as a boon what ſhe holds from Heaven as a right? Fie upon it, my Lord! hold better doctrines;—doctrines better ſuited to our virtues and our courage; and ceaſe to remind us of your origin!

Had France confined her efforts to the regeneration of herſelf, without attempting to regenerate other nations—had ſhe not employed every effort to ſubvert our Conſtitution, by preſenting to us, not for choice, but acceptance, new laws, and new modes of thinking—had ſhe never promulgated in other States the doctrines of equality in their worſt and moſt perverted ſenſe, ſhe would have found FRIENDS, not *enemies*, in Engliſhmen; but when it was diſcovered that the opinions which ſhe introduced among us for the purpoſe of corrupting and dividing us, were adopted by the diſſolute and pennyleſs, and that

theſe men, atrocious and deſpiſed as they were in their own country, were received, flattered and careſſed by the Convention and Executive Council, all ſober men became alarmed, and beheld in France an inſidious and dangerous foe; every man brought home to his own breaſt the unpardonable horrors committed in Paris—he beheld his own family butchered in cold blood, and without provocation, ignorant of his own fate, and not aſſured of ſurviving them an inſtant, ſuch were the ſentiments excited by her conduct; and who, let me aſk your Grace, could poſſibly preſerve any eſteem for a people ſo void of humanity, and whoſe aim was to involve us in all the infamy and all the complicated miſeries with which they are afflicted and diſhonoured? Who would wiſh to correct the errors and vices in our Conſtitution and Government at ſuch a terrible expence of public and of private ruin? Who would prefer the ruthleſs and deplorable anarchy in which France is involved, the duration of which is likely to extend beyond the preſent generation, to a ſtate of order and ſecurity? Weigh and combine all theſe circumſtances, my Lord, well together, and you will agree with me, that our anger was not without cauſe, nor our alarm without foundation.

" *While we behold minorities contending not for* " *principles, but power ; and diſputing, not for* " *the Conſtitution, but for Government,*" we ſhould neither be ſurprized at the obſtinacy with which they aſſert that the French had no deſign againſt the internal peace of this country, nor the perſeverance with which they maintain the neceſſity of an immediate reform in Parliament.—The French, more modeſt, plead guilty to the charge—avow their intentions, and confident of ſucceſs, declare, " *that we are in a ſtate of inſur-* " *rection.*"—This was announced in form to the National Convention by the Preſident in November 1792 ; and that all France might partake of the triumph, the pleaſing intelligence was not only printed, and ſtuck up in every ſtreet in Paris, but tranſmitted by order of the Legiſlature, to all the Departments.

" *Les Anglais, ces fiers inſulaires, nos frères* " *ainés en liberté, vont à notre exemple renverſer* " *leur Trone, chaſſer leur Roi, et porter la liberté* " *juſqu'au fond de l'Aſie !*"——(The Engliſh— " Thoſe proud Iſlanders, our elder brothers in " liberty, are preparing to follow our example ; " to deſtroy the Throne ; baniſh their King, " and extend the bleſſings of freedom to the " extremity of Aſia.")—Such was the declaration of Monſieur Gregoire ; but the voluntary confeſſion, or rather the impudent boaſt of the criminal,

criminal, it ſeems, is not ſufficient evidence of his guilt; and the Gentlemen in Oppoſition, availing themſelves of the latitude (amounting almoſt to impunity) which our laws afford to thoſe who are *dexterous* as well as SEDITIOUS, clamour for *legal proofs*, which their aſſociates they know were careful ſhould never be recorded againſt them in a court of juſtice; while, preſuming on this deficiency of *legal proof*, they deny the fact *in toto*, and give the lie not only to the declarations of the French, but to the evidence of their own ſenſes, and, on ſome occaſions, to that of their own conduct.

It is not within the narrow limits of a letter that the queſtion of Reform can be properly diſcuſſed, nor was it in my contemplation even to touch upon a ſubject ſo delicate and important, and on which it would be preſumptuous in an individual to decide, when ſuch a variety of opinions are entertained, not only as to the neceſſity of the meaſure, but as to the probability of any practical good reſulting from it.—No ſpecific plan of Reform has yet been regularly offered to our notice, but the acknowledged fact, that, *there are ſcarce two men in the kingdom agreed as to the extent of the Reform, or as to the mode of carrying it into execution,* is a circumſtance that will ever make good men PAUSE!—It is certainly a circumſtance that commands

commands the moſt ſerious attention of all who do not aim at procuring a complete diſſolution of the Government, and to thoſe who are ſo diſpoſed; to thoſe who wiſh the Engliſh Conſtitution to be ſubverted, I would ſay—*The Throne may be deſtroyed; the Houſe of Peers aboliſhed; and the whole ſyſtem of repreſentation undergo an entire change; the idle, the indigent, and profligate, may be qualified to vote, and even acquire the right to legiſlate for you, but will your liberties by ſuch a change be extended? Will your perſons and your property be rendered more ſecure? Or will your conditions in ſociety be improved in any one inſtance?*

The man who would anſwer without heſitation any one of theſe queſtions in the affirmative, and expect to be believed, ſhould preſent his credentials from Heaven as a Prophet, for he would not ſpeak like a Legiſlator or a Philoſopher;—ſuch a man would evidently appear to have read very little, and to have reaſoned ſtill leſs on the nature of civil Government; hiſtory and experience on ſuch a man could certainly have made no impreſſion; and in all probability it would appear on enquiry, that he had paſſed through life without any good purpoſe either to himſelf or others.—But to return; in all former conteſts, we could penetrate with eaſe through diſtant events, and look

forward

forward with a degree of certainty to a given time for their termination; an iſland in Aſia or America was perhaps the boundary of our reſpective pretenſions, and that obtained or relinquiſhed, and end was put to hoſtilities; but in this direful conflict, every proſpect and every hope of peace is rudely baniſhed from the mind; and the venal and profligate BARRERE, (who received a bribe in 1790 from the very Sovereign whom he ſentenced to the ſcaffold, for the favourable report on the Royal Domains) has the audacity to declare, that "*France* "*will never liſten to offers of Peace until every Go-* "*vernmint in Europe is deſtroyed.*" I do not believe that any nation has yet ſo degraded herſelf as to have ſolicited peace; and to talk of rejecting propoſals that have not been, and are not likely to be made, partakers of the vanity which diſtinguiſhed that country under the old ſyſtem. But the folly and bombaſt of this egotiſm is loſt in the atrocity and horrible principle on which the war is avowedly to be proſecuted. It is to be a war of extermination—it is not againſt a too extenſive territory—or againſt a potent and dangerous neighbour; nor is it for the purpoſe of extending their frontier that the French wage war; neither is the war to be partial; it is not to be directed againſt thoſe States who immediately ſurround France, but againſt all Europe, againſt

all

all Mankind; it is to be UNIVERSAL, and purſued until all the exiſting Governments in Europe are ſubverted, its innumerable inhabitants ſet at variance with each other, and all ties of blood and friendſhip diſſolved between them. With ſuch principles, what honeſt man will have the effrontery to eſpouſe her cauſe? With objects ſo enormous and frightful in view, what nation would be ſo wanting to itſelf as to aſſociate with her? Can ſhe ever ſeriouſly hope for peace after ſuch a declaration? a declaration no leſs impious than abſurd, and which would merit ridicule and contempt, but for the preparations which are making to carry it into effect?

The French boaſt of having a powerful party in the Britiſh Parliament. They entertain the ſame opinion of the other States with whom they are at iſſue, and this infatuation muſt be dedeſtroyed.

Remember, my Lord, that the French having inſiſted on the univerſal ſubverſion of Monarchy, it is impoſſible to treat with them while they have ſuch an object in view. When they have recovered from their preſent delirium, when they have relinquiſhed all thoſe wild and criminal projects by which, as a meaſure of ſelf-defence, France has armed all Europe againſt her, the ſword may be ſheathed, but while nothing ſhort of our abſolute ruin will

content her, the pride of Britain will, I hope, expend in the defence of her rights and poſſeſſions, her laſt man and her laſt farthing. France has made it a queſtion, Whether we ſhall exiſt as a nation or not? She has forced us to meet her on that ground, and our honour as well as our intereſt will not allow us to abandon it.—— The very juſtice of our cauſe inſpires us with confidence, while the approved valour of our troops is an aſſurance of ſucceſs. Let our exertions be proportioned to the magnitude of the danger, and the iſſue will be glorious for our country and humanity.

UNITED AT HOME, we have nothing to fear from abroad; and this is the language which as a Peer of Parliament, as a Magiſtrate, and above all, as an ENGLISHMAN, it is your duty to hold.—This country, my Lord, has had many ſerious and ſevere trials, yet ſhe has hitherto triumphed over all difficulties. She was haraſſed for more than half a century by the impudent claims of a family which ſhe had ſent into exile for diſhonouring the Throne to which ſhe had raiſed them; and it is owing to the circumſtance of your birth, my Lord, that you do not partake of their misfortunes.

The courage of this country has frequently been called forth, and on occaſions where it was expected ſhe would have fallen in the ſtrug-

gle,

gle, but her magnanimity equal to every emergency, enabled her to reſiſt every attack, and to riſe from under the preſſure of accumulated diſtreſs with redoubled vigour. If engaged as we have ſeen her in a civil war, and in a ſtate of hoſtility, ſecret and avowed, with nearly the whole of Europe, ſhe was enabled to reſiſt her potent and numerous foes ;

If by the wiſdom of her councils, the vigour of her operations, and the gallantry of her arms, ſhe triumphed over her enemies in all quarters of the world, why ſhould ſhe deſpair with all Europe almoſt in alliance with her? With all Europe combatting by her ſide, and united to her by the common danger with which they are threatened, with every moral certainty of a ſucceſsful iſſue to the conteſt, why ſhould ſhe deſpond ; why ſhould ſhe with victory in view anticipate defeat, and meanly ſolicit peace of a people who would reject the ſuit with an haughtineſs equal to the baſeneſs with which it was ſolicited ?

The league formed againſt her in the American war, threatened much more ſerious miſchief to her commerce and dominion than the preſent conteſt.

India was in a manner wreſted from her ſway, ſhe was totally excluded from the Mediterranean, ſeveral of her ſugar iſlands had been

taken, and a line of coaſt (once in her poſſeſſion, and extending from the Gulph of Florida to the Bay of Fundy) was in declared rebellion, yet, notwithſtanding theſe unexampled difficulties, notwithſtanding theſe numerous loſſes, and the powerful confederacy reſolved to expel her from Aſia and America, notwithſtanding every effort to extinguiſh her influence on ſhore and her empire at ſea, her flag ſtill flies triumphant in the four quarters of the world! The Britiſh name is ſtill held in reverence; and, what ought to be as flattering to the pride as it is honourable to the character of an Engliſhman, his protection has been ſolicited, and his ſuccour is deemed a ſecurity againſt the inroads of vagabonds let looſe from all reſtraint, and armed with principles as diabolical in their nature, as they have been found miſchievous and ruinous in their application.

Theſe are facts which cannot be controverted, and to hold out a miſerable catalogue of evils as peculiar to this war, which we know to be common to all wars, and to excite ill founded alarms in the minds of your fellow citizens, is to ſide, my Lord, with malice againſt candour, and with ignorance againſt experience, it is the foul and unnatural junction of vice and virtue, which for a variety of reaſons you ſhould diſclaim

claim without hefitation, and abandon without regret.

Your rank in ſociety demands the ſacrifice, (if you ſhould unhappily deem it ſuch) and your country expects it as an atonement for the errors of an Adminiſtration, to the account of which much of that democratic ſpirit which rages at preſent may be placed.

There is nothing more ctiminal, my Lord, than to excite ill founded alarms in times of public danger; and it is to the full as idle to give implicit faith to every tale which malice or ignorance may propagate. It is the misfortune of France to be ſtill under an infatuation as fatal to her own intereſts as it is miſchievous to thoſe of other nations.—She ſtill looks forward in confidence to riot and revolt in this country *, and firmly believes that the inſtant an at-

" La Cour de Londres, qui craint la guerre ſemble l'ennemie de la paix—elle affecte un contenance qui en impoſe au peuple Anglais, mais ſi vous vous montrez rigides, ſi vous vous conſtituez l'état, et ſi le poid de votre politique écraſe tous ſes partiſans, & comprime ſes combinaiſons, le lendemain du jour où elle aura paru le plus éloignée de la paix, la plus confiante dans ſa force et la plus ſuperbe dans ſes pretenſions, elle propoſera la paix."

Report from the Committee of Public Safety at Paris to the National Convention, 27 Feb. 1794.

tack

tack is made from WITHOUT the Government will be aſſailed and ſubverted WITHIN. It is this vain, this deluſive idea, that ſtimulates her to menace us with an invaſion; and counting upon a general defection from one end of the kingdom to the other, it is poſſible ſhe may be ſeduced to make the attempt, and hazard a deſcent. Her ſole hope of ſucceſs is in this promiſed defection—Defection did I call it? Say rather, a mean and daſtardly renunciation of our national character; a baſe and perfidious deſertion of our country, of all that is venerable and dear in the eſtimation of mankind, and of which even France would have believed us incapable but for the pains which have been taken to miſrepreſent every action of the Britiſh Government, and to delude an intoxicated people into a belief that the Parliament and the nation are on the eve of a violent and irreparable rupture *. It is this libel on the Engliſh Empire that we

" On a tué Marat & banni Margarot dont on a confiſqué les biens—tous les tyrans en ont marqué leur joie!—Que Margarot revienne de Botani Bay! qu'il ne periſſe point! et que ſa deſtinée ſoit plus forte que le Gouvernement qui l'opprime!

" Les Révolutions commencent toujours par d'ILLUSTRES MALHEUREUX.—Que la Providence accompagne Margerot à Botani-Bay! QU'UN DECRET AU PEUPLE AFFRANCHI

we are called upon to refute and puniſh. It is this audacious, this ill-founded calumny againſt the Britiſh nation, that ſhould animate us to give the lie at once to the aſſertions and hopes of our enemies. We owe it to ourſelves to convince them, that however we may cavil at home, we will ever be united and faithful to each other againſt all attempts to divide us from abroad; and that more inſulted by the ſuſpicions entertained of our loyalty, than alarmed at the danger with which we are threatened, we are reſolved to proſecute the war to a juſt and honourable concluſion. Such, my Lord, is the language we ſhould hold—ſuch the conduct it is incumbent on us to purſue; and whatever

FRANCHI, LE RAPPELLE DU FOND DES DESERTS OU VENGE SA MEMOIRE." *Ibid.*

Theſe are not the looſe, unconnected ſentiments of private individuals, my Lord, of no authority in France, but the declaration of the men entruſted with the whole Government of the country, and who addreſs this language in their official and miniſterial capacities to the French Legiſlature and to the World.—Is it to thoſe that your Grace would propoſe peace? Is it from thoſe you could hope to receive it? and do you believe that they would grant it, unleſs one of his Majeſty's ſhips was firſt diſpatched to Botany Bay to bring back the "ILLUSTRIOUS EXILE," (as they call him) from the deſarts of New Holland?

may

may be the event of the ſtruggle, whether it ſhould be proſperous, as we are authorized to expect, or whether it ſhould, contrary to reaſon, juſtice, and appearances, prove unfortunate, we ſhall have the ſatisfaction to reflect, either in victory or in defeat, that we have acquitted ourſelves like BRITONS!

AN

Exculpation of M. de la Fayette

FROM

The Charges unjuſtly advanced, and indecently urged againſt him by

MR. BURKE,

In the Houſe of Commons, on the 17th March, 1794.

IT is not very decent, and certainly not very conſiſtent in Mr. Burke who has oppoſed almoſt every meaſure of the Crown through life with an aſperity peculiar to himſelf, to come forward and pretend to more loyalty than the reſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects.—We ſhould however pardon the vanity of this ſingular pretenſions in a man anxious to atone perhaps for the acrimony with which he treated his Sovereign in his illneſs, if our anger was not provoked by the arrogance with which it is accompanied, of dictating to us in matters merely ſpeculative, and laying down rules for our allegiance and

 ſubmiſſion,

ſubmiſſion, with a bull of excommunication againſt thoſe who differ in opinion with this "*Sir* "*Oracle*" of modern times.—Mr. Burke, not ſatisfied with pretending to be more dutiful to the King, and more affectionate to his perſon, would aſſume the right to regulate our faith and ſquare our obedience by a meaſurement of his own fabrication, founded on the principles and exploded maxims of Archbiſhop Laud, Sir Robert Filmer, and other gentlemen of that deſcription, who having vegetated without reſpect, periſhed unlamented in the laſt century.

It has been deemed a ſymptom of diſaffection to his Majeſty and to his Government, to diſſent from Mr. Burke in what he advances relative to the revolution that happened in this country in 1688, as well as to what concerns the leſs fortunate, but not leſs merited one which took place in France in 1789.—The principles on which the former was accompliſhed have been wifully miſrepreſented, for I will not pay ſo ill a compliment to the talents and reading of Mr. Burke, as to attribute the novel doctrines he has lain down, reſpecting the former, to ignorance or incapacity;—and I feel it a grievance as well as an inſult, that the loyalty of Gentlemen in this country ſhould be arraigned, for maintaining that a revolution in France had become a neceſſary and laudable meaſure.

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The emancipation of an entire people from the arbitrary dominion of an individual, and the vexatious oppreſſions which they endured from the pride, avarice, and deſpotiſm of a few, will ever afford matter of rational triumph to thoſe whoſe minds are not debaſed by tyranny or deformed by prejudice; and on this ground it was that I rejoiced, in common with millions, when the Baſtile fell. That the French have miſtaken their road, and that they have fallen under an oppreſſion infinitely more extenſive, and more horrible than the one which good men, in all parts of the world, univerſally reprobated, proves indeed the extreme depravity and general profligacy of the country, but is ſurely no argument againſt the propriety or neceſſity of the revolution in itſelf, any more than that the ſcandalous and licentious manners of half the Biſhops in France ſhould invalidate the truth of the Chriſtian religion.—I have no doubt that when Luther attempted to purge the church of its filth and iniquities; when he expoſed the guilt and effrontery of degrading the Divinity into a Pedlar, and giving him a ſtall in every chapel and convent in Chriſtendom to ſell pardons for paſt and future crimes, but that a pampered and diſſolute prieſthood in thoſe days found proſtitute ſcribblers to juſtify the abuſes he condemned, and to write againſt the

reformation which he urged, and which was certainly not the leſs neceſſary for having been propoſed by a man whoſe morals were perhaps to the full as corrupt as thoſe whom he condemned.

As Mr. Burke has endeavoured to throw an odium on thoſe who rejoice in the ſubverſion of the ancient Government in France, and to draw inferences from thence of diſaffection to the Conſtitution, it is not extraordinary that he ſhould alſo conſider it as criminal to expreſs any eſteem for thoſe who were inſtrumental in effecting a revolution which was meant to root out long eſtabliſhed evils, and ſubſtitute in their place wholeſome, provident laws, which binding alike upon all, ſhould give protection and ſupport to all.

Mr. Burke ſeems diſpoſed to carry this prejudice, to ſay nothing worſe of it, ſtill farther.—It is not only an argument, in his opinion, of diſaffection to the Engliſh Government to approve of the French revolution, and of the motives of thoſe who effected it, but even to expreſs ſentiments of compaſſion for ſuch as have fallen victims to an intemperate zeal, or to a want of foreſight.

Among the proſcribed we find the name of a man, who is not only accuſed of being acceſſary to the aſſaſſination of private individuals, but

but of having connived at the departure of the Royal Family, for the execrable purpoſe of obtaining popularity with the rabble, by bringing them back priſoners to Paris. It is almoſt fair to ſuppoſe that thoſe who can attribute ſuch foul and atrocious intentions to another, without proofs or probability, are capable of executing them. The beſt anſwer that can be given to the aſſertions of Mr. Burke in the Houſe of Commons on the 17th inſt. is to publiſh the ſpeech of M. de la Fayette at the moment that Foulon was maſſacred: It is recorded in a journal called L'Ami du Roi, par Monſ. Montjoye; the author of which will certainly not be ſuſpected of having any predilection either for the Revolution or for thoſe who were concerned in it.

If M. de la Fayette could poſſibly have ſaved the lives of Foulon * and Berthier, the author of

* This man fell a victim to his bad character—to that general prejudice which is adopted very often without cauſe, and as often continued from the indolence of thoſe who imbibe it, not permitting them to enquire into the truth or falſehood of the reports and opinions they hear. This unfortunate man was the moſt abhorred of any in France, and in ſuch deteſtation was his very name held, that two of his nephews againſt whom there was no reproach, were refuſed admiſſion into a club in Paris in the year 1787, by having eighty

of this Journal, devoted to the Court and the Ariſtocratic party in France, would certainly have reproached, with his accuſtomed ſeverity, the criminal negligence of M. de la Fayette, againſt whom he was always ready to publiſh whatever was likely to injure his character and diſcredit him with the people. When a man ſo decidedly againſt him is perfectly ſilent on a ſubject, which could not have eſcaped his knowledge (for he was on the ſpot) I do not think that the ſlander of Mr. Burke can be more effectually refuted than by the publication of the harangue recorded (by this friend of the King) without comment or contradiction, nor can Mr. Burke with any decency queſtion the veracity of one of his own witneſſes.—As I have this va-

eighty black balls in an hundred againſt them, from the circumſtance of their being called Foulon.

Incenſed at the brutal violence of the mob whom he could not reſtrain, and incenſed at a murder which reflected diſgrace on his country, M. de la Fayette reſigned his command, and it was with difficulty that he was prevailed upon to reſume it. This circumſtance alone proves that he was ſenſibly affected by the maſſacre of this unfortunate victim, while his conduct previous to the melancholy event proves that he not only condemned the violence, but exerted every effort in his power to prevent it.—His having been acceſſary therefore to the murder, or having had it in his power to prevent it, are aſſertions which Mr. Burke upon reflection muſt certainly bluſh to have advanced.

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luable collection in my poſſeſſion, I ſhall publiſh the diſcourſe in the language in which it was delivered, that thoſe who may have been equally fortunate in preſerving the productions of the ſame author from the general wreck, may compare them, and bear evidence to the fidelity of my quotation.—The World I truſt will acknowledge the juſtice of my concluſions.

THE ADDRESS OF

M. DE LA FAYETTE *to the* PEOPLE,

On the 22d July, 1789.

Extrait du Journal du l'Ami du Roi du Mois de Juillet, 1789.

" JE ſuis connu de vous tous, vous m'avez nommé votre General, et ce choix qui m'honore, m'impoſe le devoir de vous parler avec la liberté et la franchiſe qui font la baſe de mon caractère.—Vous voulez faire perir ſans jugement cet homme qui eſt devant vous, c'eſt une injuſtice qui vous deſhonore qui me fletriroit moi-même, qui fletriroit tous les efforts que j'ai fait en faveur de la liberté—ſi j'étois aſſez foible

foible pour la permettre : je ne la permettrai pas cette injuſtice, mais je ſuis bien loin de pretendre le ſauver s'il eſt coupable, je veux ſeulement que cet homme ſoit conduit en priſon pour être jugé par le tribunal que la nation indiquera. —Je veux que la loi ſoit reſpectée, la loi ſans laquelle il n'eſt point de liberté, la loi ſans le ſecours de laquelle je n'aurois point contribué à la revolution du Nouveau Monde, et ſans laquelle je ne contribuerai pas à la revolution qui ſe prepare ; ce que je dis en faveur des formes et de loi, ne doit pas être interpreté en faveur de Monſ. Foulon, je ne ſuis pas ſuſpect à ſon egard, et peut-être même la manière dont je me ſuis exprimé ſur ſon compte dans pluſieurs occaſions ſuffiroit ſeule pour m'interdire le droit de le juger, mais plus il eſt preſumé coupable plus il eſt important que les formes s'obſervent à ſon égard, ſoit pour rendre ſa punition plus eclatante, ſoit pour l'interroger legalement et avoir de ſa bouche la revelation de ſes complices, ainſi je vais donner ordre qu'il ſoit conduit à l'Abbaye."

TRANSLATION OF THE PRECEDING LETTER.

" I am known to you all—You have nominated me to be your General; but the choice which you have made, and which confers on me the higheſt honour, alſo impoſes on me as a duty the neceſſity of ſpeaking to you with that ſincerity and frankneſs which conſtitute my character.—You ſeem reſolved to deſtroy the man without trial who is proſtrate before you and at your mercy;—but ſuch violence would be as diſhonourable to yourſelves, as to the cauſe of liberty in which we are embarked; and tho' I cannot ſuffer ſo flagrant an act of injuſtice to be committed, I am very far from wiſhing to preſerve guilt from puniſhment.—I only requeſt that you will permit this man to be conducted to priſon, that he may be tried agreeable to the laws, and by ſuch a tribunal as the nation may appoint.—All I deſire is that the law may be reſpected, without which it is impoſſible that LIBERTY can exiſt, or that I can contribute to the revolution which is preparing in this country, as I did to that which has been accompliſhed in America.—What I have advanced in favour of the laws, and of the forms of juſtice, will not, I truſt, be interpreted as argu-

ments in favour of M. Foulon.—I certainly ſhall not be ſuſpected of any partiality towards him; and the very manner in which I have, on a variety of occaſions, delivered my opinion of him, deprives me of the right of judging him. But the more culpable he appears to be, remember the more incumbent it is on you to reſpect the laws by which alone he can be condemned. —Whether it is your wiſh that his puniſhment ſhould be exemplary, or whether it is merely your intention to interrogate him, for the purpoſe of diſcovering his accomplices, it is neceſſary that he ſhould be preſerved from outrage; I ſhall therefore give directions that he is conducted to the Abbey *."

* The judicious reader will eaſily conceive the extreme difficulty of even obtaining an hearing from an immenſe mob under the influence of rage, and that the only poſſible chance of reſcuing an individual from the fury of their reſentment was by the expedient of conducting him to priſon.

The ſecond charge which has been urged againſt M. de la Fayette, not in the full and direct manner in which he was accuſed as an accomplice in the murder of Foulon, but by whiſpers

whiſpers as induſtriouſly circulated as they were maliciouſly deſigned, can be refuted more poſitively, and perhaps more ſatisfactorily than the firſt, by an appeal to facts and to authentic documents. The improbability of the ſtory is in itſelf a proof of its falſehood; nor can it be credited, that if M. de la Fayette had been privy to the departure of the King for the purpoſes ſo inhumanely attributed to him, that he would have allowed his Majeſty to have travelled within 15 miles of the frontier before he had him ſtopped, and eſpecially as Varennes was the laſt town through which the hapleſs Monarch had to paſs in which he had any danger to apprehend.

If La Fayette had played ſo foul, ſo infamous a part, one of his aid du camps, and not the poſt-maſter Drouet,* who alone derived eclat from the arreſt, would have ſtopped the Royal Travellers. But without entering into all the detail of argument and variety of reaſons that may be urged in favour of M. de la Fayette, his claims to innocence will be eſtabliſhed on the declaration of the Queen alone, whoſe evidence, under the diſtreſſing, the awful circum-

* This man, on his examination before the National Aſſembly, never mentioned the name of M. de la Fayette, but gave as a reaſon for having the carriage ſtopped, that "*he thought he diſcovered the King in it.*"

ſtances

ſtances in which ſhe found herſelf, commands reſpect and confidence.

She declared that "*Monſieur de la Fayette was* "*ignorant of her departure.*" Her account of the manner in which ſhe left Paris corroborates her aſſertion; and if the arreſt of the King ſhould be advanced as preſumptive evidence that La Fayette was in the ſecret, the declaration attributed to the Marquis de Bouillé explains what was in the firſt moment conſidered as evidence of La Fayette's guilt.——M. de Bouillé declared, firſt, "*That the King left* "*Pa*[illegible] TWENTY-FOUR *hours later than the time agreed upon*; and that the detachments aſſembled for the purpoſe of eſcorting his Majeſty, excited ſuſpicions round the country.

2d. One of theſe detachments, compoſed of 50 huſſars, and commanded by a ſon of the Marquis de Bouillé, was twenty-four hours without any kind of refreſhment either for the men or their horſes; and their having retreated to procure themſelves refreſhments, they could not get back in time to prevent the tumults and diſorders of the people, aſſembled at firſt from motives of ſimple curioſity.

3d. It has alſo appeared I believe from the teſtimony of Count de Damas, that the garde de corps who preceded the carriage was three quarters of an hour in the ſtreets of Varennes ſeeking for horſes

horſes, being uninformed that the relay was to wait, and to be without the gates.

4. It is alſo well known, and from the ſame authority, that the King was ſtopped by one man only, and that he prevented the three gardes du corps, who were on the coach box, to extricate him from the danger, by diſpatching this man.

5. The ſon of the Marquis de Bouillé, by much too young for an enterprize of ſuch importance, would not venture to attack ſome unarmed men, who were collected together, and who, at the expiration of at leaſt three hours, brought two pieces of cannon, which by the bye were not charged——It is alſo worthy of remark, that M. de Bouillé had in the neighbourhood of Varennes an army of at leaſt 50,000 men, and that, notwithſtanding this force, he ſuffered the King to be ſeized and carried off.

Every well-informed mind knows that there is not more than 15 Engliſh miles from Varennes to the frontiers of France, and that in two hours his Majeſty might have paſſed the French territory. Is it then probable, that if M. de la Fayette had been in the ſecret, that he would have deferred the ſeizure of his Majeſty's perſon until he arrived on the ſpot, where it was a thouſand to one that he could not have been ſtopped,

and

and where if he had not delayed his departure ſo long from the metropolis, there would have been a force ſufficient to have protected him?—If there is any blame on this unfortunate occaſion, it is not on M. de la Fayette, but on M. de Bouillé, that it ought to fall, who however may not deſerve perhaps any other cenſure for the failure of the enterprize than what is due to imprudence and incapacity.

All that was done in conſequence of this melancholy event was for the ſecurity of thoſe who had any property in Paris, and whoever denies theſe well-known facts, and pronounces M. de la Fayette guilty, muſt either have a very bad memory, or be extremely deficient in candour and ſincerity.—Surely the evidence of people on the ſpot is much more to be depended upon than that of the emigrants at Coblentz; and what ought to have a very conſiderable weight in the opinion of every impartial perſon is, that if M. de la Fayette had been in the ſecret, his numerous enemies in Paris, and particularly thoſe who were endeavouring to wreſt from him the command of the national guards, would not have omitted ſo favourable an opportunity to ſacrifice the object of their hatred and their envy to the fury of an ungovernable mob.

So far from its being credited even by thoſe the moſt adverſe to M. de la Fayette, and ſo convinced

convinced were they of his innocence, that when the matter was diſcuſſed in the National Aſſembly, and his life depended on the iſſue of the queſtion, they had the magnanimity to relinquiſh their perſonal intereſts, to renounce all perſonal reſentments, and decide like honeſt men, in favour of juſtice.

FINIS.

2.

THE AUTHOR

OF

The Letter to the Duke of Grafton

VINDICATED

FROM THE

CHARGE OF DEMOCRACY.

WITH NOTES.

By Mr. MILES.

LONDON:

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MDCCXCIV.

BRITISH MUSEUM

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ADVERTISEMENT.

London, June 17, 1794.

IT has been inſinuated that the principles of the author of the following pages are democratic; and the malicious interpretation which has lately been given to a word of conſiderable import to mankind, calls loudly on him to repel a ſlander as inſolent as it is ill founded.

His principles are no farther democratic than the Laws and Conſtitution of THIS country allow, and which it would be as criminal in a Britiſh ſubject to renounce, as it would be daſtardly in him to conceal. After this explanation, he truſts that he has nothing to apprehend from the inſects of the day, who ſteer their conſciences by the occaſion, and who would ſell, like Eſau, their birth-right for a meſs of porridge.

A VIN-

BRITISH MUSEUM

A

VINDICATION,

&c. &c. &c.

THE gentlemen who conduct the Monthly Review have ſo groſsly miſrepreſented my motives and ſentiments, that I feel myſelf under the neceſſity of explaining what I thought could not be eaſily miſtaken, and what is ſtill more painful, to vindicate that from blame which I expected would have met with praiſe, not cenſure. Theſe gentlemen however, or their *proxy*, appear to have the cauſe of the French emigrants infinitely more at heart than the legality of the grant to the Duke of Grafton, or of the fair fame of his great grandmother. How far the pride of his Grace will be flattered by his having been made a kind of *avant courier* to a deſcription of people ſo thoroughly deſpicable I know not, nor is it of importance either to my happineſs or character to enquire.

It

It is aſked with an air of triumph not altogether deſtitute of that "*ſelf-ſufficiency*" with which I have been reproached, "*who the hero is that* "*preſumes to impeach the* PIETY *of the French* "*Clergy and the* VALOR *of the French Nobi-* "*lity?*" The anſwer is, that he is no hero, but a plain, unaffected man; very much attached to his country and to truth; independent of all parties; and almoſt as obſcure and as inſignicant as thoſe who cenſure him.——That the French Clergy and the French Nobility, at leaſt that claſs of them who prefer fraud to ſincerity and deſpotiſm to ſlavery, and who alone have been alluded to, ſhould find advocates in this country, where the value of good morals and of rational freedom are ſo highly rated and ſo perfectly underſtood, muſt be matter of ſurprize as well as of concern to thoſe who reſpect the preſervation of either, and who acknowledge that there are other duties annexed to religion beſides faſting and praying.—Shall I tell theſe inviſible champions of an itinerant Prieſthood and Nobleſſe, who are diſperſed like the Jews over the face of the earrh, but without hopes of redemption or a Meſſiah to confide in, that their ſcandalous profligacy, inſolence and vexations, provoked and juſtified the revolution of which they are the victims, and that it is owing to the intrigues, cabals, and falſehoods of thoſe worſt

of

of miſcreants, that Europe is involved in a ſeries of calamities, the iſſue of which it would puzzle preſcience to foretell? The queſtion is not whether the higher orders of the Clergy performed the pantomine of maſs with all the decorum and ſolemnity due to the pretended divinity of its inſtitution;—for their dexterity at aſſuming or throwing aſide the maſque of devotion will never be diſputed by thoſe who have reſided in Catholic countries.—The queſtion is, whether the lives of theſe eccleſiaſtics correſponded with their functions and were in conformity with the doctrines they preached.—— Such is the queſtion, and the anſwer to it may be found in every volume and almoſt in every page of hiſtory, from the days of Conſtantine to the preſent time. Every gentleman who has reſided either in Italy or France, or who has been in any of the eccleſiaſtical States of the Empire, muſt have ſeen inſtances in abundance where precept and example were conſtantly at variance, and where the oppoſite characters of ſaint and of ſinner were exhibited in the ſame perſon with an effrontery as offenſive to decency as it is injurious to morals*.

* Whenever I ſee a Catholic prieſt, the idea of a poacher inſtantly occurs to my mind, ce ſont des Braconniers qui s'amuſent ſur la chaſſe des autres—enjoined to chaſtity, and forbidden

The neceſſity of a pretended conformity to the reſtraints which the Roman Catholic faith impoſes on thoſe who profeſs it, tends to make men hypocrites.—It gives them the exterior of virtue with all the eſſentials of vice, and deſtroys that open, generous frankneſs which is at once the ſource and protection of probity; it impels mankind to have recourſe to diſſimulation, and renders them dark, undermining and treacherous; it teaches them how to violate the moſt ſolemn engagements with impunity,

bidden to marry; the ſeverity of the law may be offered in extenuation of its infringement, and I am willing to admit the plea, but do not let theſe men affect a ſanctity of manners which does not belong to them, or exerciſe a deſpotiſm as impudent as it is iniquitous. I was at Spa ſome years ſince, when an indigent publican was proſecuted by one of theſe *tartuffes* (a member of the Synod) for having ſuffered mutton chops to be dreſſed for ſome Proteſtant gueſts on a day of abſtinence. The diſorders to which I allude prevail more in the eccleſiaſtical States than in any other, for the government being entirely in the hands of the Clergy, they have no account to render; while a complaiſant laity, in return for the good things they receive, connive at the enormities, and participate in the crimes of a diſſolute prieſthood. Bad example diſſeminated in this manner, and communicated to the inferior claſſes by the higheſt, cannot fail to infect and finally to corrupt the entire maſs. Vice muſt, under ſuch circumſtances, take ſtrong root, and acquire a force and conſiſtency in the minds of men, which will eventually mock all precept, and on ſome occaſions ſet even the laws at defiance.

and

and when they accuſtom themſelves to diſpenſe with their obligations in one inſtance, their obſervance of them in every other will depend not ſo much upon a ſenſe of duty as on their intereſts, their paſſions and convenience—a religion that pretends to a purity of morals incompatible with human nature, and that is beyond the utmoſt efforts of ſelf-denial to acquire, is ſubverſive of all virtue. Inſtead of rendering its miniſters chaſte, pious, and modeſt, by the vows it exacts, the ceremonies it impoſes, and the humility it enjoins, it renders them debauched, arrogant, and cruel *.

All

* It is very common in Roman Catholic countries to ſee diviſions of the moſt lamentable kind excited in private families by the criminal intrigues of prieſts—the influence and authority they derive from auricular confeſſion, and the ſanctity attached to the ſacerdotal character, joined to a vicious and corrupt education are the cauſes of infinite diſorders, while the difficulty of puniſhing the offender, and the care which is taken to accelerate the eſcape of de inquents under the pretence of preſerving the church from ſcandal, amount to impunity, and render them as little ſolicitous to conceal their guilt and irregularities as they are ſcrupulous in committing them. I have known huſbands ſeparated from their wives, or compelled to connive at their diſhonor—I have ſeen children proſcribed by their parents, and ſons and daughters, infants and adults, diſinherited by their mothers at the inſtigation of monks and confeſſors, in whoſe favour the patrimony has been bequeathed by their credulous and

All reſtraints that are uſeleſs and unnatural are not only impolitic but dangerous to ſociety. Amongſt the moſt miſchievous of thoſe which Rome has impoſed may be reckoned the law which prohibits that endearing and conſolotary intercourſe between the ſexes, which renders life, if not deſireable, at leaſt ſupportable. To deprive mankind of this ſource of enjoyment, of this beſt and greateſt ſolace, is to give Heaven the lie, and to inflict puniſhment where crime has not been committed; it is contrary to the Scriptures which thoſe profeſs to believe who exact it, and who, under an affected ſanctity of manners, are guilty of the moſt diſſolute licentiouſneſs. It is in fact an oppreſſion as wanton as it is repugnant to common ſenſe and hoſtile to good order, and if rigorouſly enforced would provoke reſiſtance, and purge the church that exerciſes it of much filth and diſhonor; but the difficulty, not to ſay impoſſibility of ſubmitting to reſtrictions ſo unnatural, makes all connive at diſpenſing with them, while religion, abſurd, and tyrannical in one inſtance, wilfully connives at perjury in the ſecond, rather than aboliſh an ordinance to

deluded penitents. If it ſhould be ſaid that religion does not enjoin ſuch crimes, I anſwer that it authorizes them by conniving at them.

which

which no obedience is paid, and which tends to habituate the mind of man to the practice of every ſpecies of fraud, cunning, and injuſtice *.

The

* Both nuns and monks take a vow of chaſtity, poverty, and obedience; and that ſome idea of the *fidelity* with which they are obſerved may be formed, I tranſcribe the laconic oration of an anceſtor of the late Duke of Orleans, (the famous Regent of France) to his natural daughter, whom he made an Abbeſs—"Vous allez faire vœu de pauvreté, d'obéiſſance & de chaſtité; pour obſerver la première, je vous donne cent mille ecus de rente; pour exercer l'obéiſſance, vous aurez deux à trois cents religieuſes à commander, & pour la chaſtité vous vous en tirerez comme vous pourrez à l'exemple des Evêques."—*You are going to take a vow of poverty, of ſubmiſſion, and of chaſtity; and to enable you to perform the firſt, I give you an income of twelve thouſand five hundred pounds a year; that you may practiſe the ſecond, I inveſt you with an authority over two or three hundred nuns; and as to the third, you will no doubt manage as well as you can, and follow the example of the Biſhops.*——The example of the Biſhops in thoſe days, and which has been obſerved moſt religiouſly ever ſince, was always to have a niece or two on their eſtabliſhment. An Archbiſhop whom I ſaw at Paris had no leſs than three; whether this was a compliment to his vigor, or meant to mark his pre-eminence in the church, or whether theſe damſels were bequeathed to him as legacies *in truſt* by ſome of his fugitive brethren when the drones were driven out of the hive, I cannot take upon me to aſcertain; all that I pretend to infer from the fact is, the very great reſpect which theſe pious and exemplary gentlemen pay to decorum, by giving the ladies a degree of conſanguinity which preſerves them from ſcandal, and precludes every idea of a criminal

 intercourſe

The firſt and moſt eſſential requiſite of religion is its truth or authenticity; the ſecond, its ſimplicity; and the third, the purity of its paſtors.—Where theſe are wanting, and it is attempted to ſupply the deficiencies by a multitude of gaudy and expenſive ceremonies, ſome

intercourſe between them and their right reverend *uncles*. Whether the Abbeſſes and ſhe Prebends on the continent provide themſelves with male relations of the *ſame degree*, I know not, but this I know, that the facility with which the vows of chaſtity, poverty, and obedience are taken, equal the effrontery with which they are violated. It has fallen more than once in my way to have been a ſpectator of the extreme licentiouſneſs in which the religious of both ſexes indulge, eſpecially thoſe of the order of St. Benedict and St. Bernard*; and as the enormities which I have cenſured, naturally flow from the impracticable reſtraints which this diſguſting ſuperſtition, for it cannot be called religion, made up of fraud, violence and ſhew, exacts from thoſe who profeſs it; and as no good can poſſibly reſult from a ſource ſo poiſonous that it infects whatever it touches, its diſſolution and final deſtruction are rather to be deſired than regretted.

* It is no ſecret that in the convent of St. Claude at Dole, in Franche Comté, two ſubterraneous rooms were diſcovered which had evidently been uſed to bury alive the victims of monkiſh barbarity. The ſkeleton of a man was found in one of them, and in the other, thoſe of a woman and an infant—*Vade in Pace* is the name by which theſe caverns of death are known in Catholic countries, and if they are leſs reſorted to in theſe days than they were in the earlier ages of the Church, it is not becauſe the Monks are more continent or humane, but that the times require leſs caution and reſerve.

of

of them frivolous, others laughable, and all of them uſeleſs; where more importance is attached to the nonſenſe of forms and vain parade, than to the practice of virtue; and where faith counts for every thing, and morals go for nothing, it is neither illiberal nor unjuſt to aſſert, that ſuch religion is evidently founded in falſehood, and juſtifies expulſion by its own maxims.

I will appeal to any diſpaſſionate man, converſant with human nature, and informed of the conditions annexed to the Romiſh ſacerdoce, whether thoſe conditions do not neceſſarily tend to engender crimes and irregularities of every deſcription in the prieſthood, and to counteract thoſe maxims which it is no leſs incumbent on them to enforce by example than it is their duty to inculcate by precept?—It is fair to enquire in my turn, ſince queſtions have been forced upon me with ſo much heat and injuſtice, whether the clergy of that community who violate their vow of chaſtity, are not virtually guilty of perjury, and if they are, how many of them can vouch for their innocence?

Let the Catholic Biſhops come forward if they dare, and ſay that none of their body are indebted to the intrigues of dignified proſtitutes for the mitres they obtained—Let them declare

if

if they can, that none of them lived publicly with women of profligate manners, or paſſed their lives in the exceſſes of the table *, or the laſcivious embraces of diſtempered courtezans—Let the Abbé of St. Farr, who finds this country ſo hoſpitable, ſo pleaſant, and indulgent to that claſs of his countrymen who are the leaſt entitled to either—Let the gay and voluptuous Abbé Maury, who divides his time ſo happily between Rome and Loretto, that is between devotion and gallantry, or the diſconſolate Biſhop of Autun †, an outcaſt on the diſtant

* "La fonction la plus penible de l'epiſcopat eſt la digeſ-
"tion."—*A Catholic Biſhop has no duty ſo painful to perform as his digeſtion.*—This is a proverbial ſaying throughout France, and proverbs, it is well known, are founded in truth and obſervation, at leaſt all thoſe that I have met with from the days of Solomon to thoſe of Sancho Panca.

† It is not meant to vindicate the Biſhop of Autun from the cenſure to which his profligate manners have expoſed him—He does not deſerve it—But from the acrimony with which thoſe cenſures have been repeatedly urged, one would ſuppoſe that he was an extraordinary inſtance of eccleſiaſtical depravity. If, however, it ſhould appear that the exceſſes of thoſe who have adhered to the ancient government, and towards whoſe vices ſuch a complaiſant ſilence has been obſerved, were to the full as notorious, and no leſs reprehenſible than thoſe of this degraded prelate, it is fair to conclude that the politician has been PUNISHED in the prieſt, and that if the Biſhop of Autun had not engaged in the revolution, his

tant ſhores of America, bewailing the ſad deſtiny of his country, declare whether the picture I have drawn is or is not a faithful copy of the original? However liable the evidence of theſe men may be to ſuſpicion, their capacity to decide cannot be queſtioned; and with the facts in my poſſeſſion, and the broad page of hiſtory in

his irregularities would have met with the ſame indulgence as thoſe of his no leſs atrocious brethren, who *pretend* to have ſacrificed their *intereſt* to their CONSCIENCE! —Impudent hypocrites!—They have made no ſacrifice—not a man of them would have abandoned his country, if the Revolution had aſſured to them their power—their incomes and their pleaſures!——Theſe are the loſſes they deplore—Theſe the calamities they lament, not the deſtruction of thoſe altars which they inſulted and profaned by their diſſembled piety!

Having cited an inſtance of the diſſolute morals of the French Clergy, in the example of one who was engaged in the Revolution—I owe it to that juſtice which I love and practiſe, to produce an inſtance of ſimilar depravity in one whoſe loyalty has exhauſted panegyric, and who oppoſed moſt ſtrenuouſly, and, I will anſwer for it, moſt cordially, all kind of reform, both in Church and State. The man to whom I allude is the Abbé Maury, and who, from the honors and emoluments which the Pope has lately beſtowed upon him, the world might be led to conclude had lived in ſtrict conformity with the duties of his profeſſion and the doctrines he preached, yet, notwithſtanding this reaſonable expectation, it would be difficult to produce from the Conclave itſelf, or even from the hiſtory of the Popes, an inſtance of greater

in view, I will venture to challenge their teſtimony on any ground where the inquiſition is not eſtabliſhed, and what is more, I will abide by it.

That

greater libertiniſm. Why this officious and turbulent prieſt, diſtinguiſhed for his impudence and his profligacy, ſhould have been complimented with a mitre and a red hat, can be no otherwiſe accounted for than by the part which he took AGAINST the Revolution; from which it is evident that the zeal with which he defended the cauſe of deſpotiſm and of ſuperſtition (for they are generally united) was of more value to him than if he had poſſeſſed all the piety and all the goodneſs of all the Saints in the Roman calendar; and here we find that the politician has been RECOMPENSED in the prieſt.—How far religion may be ultimately benefited by a policy ſo contrary to the received opinions of mankind reſpecting the diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments, or how far his Holineſs may be juſtified by the canon law, in diſpoſing of the rich benefices and diſtinctions of the Church to a character ſo completely infamous, is not within my province to decide; but according to the principles in which I have been educated, and to my conceptions of right, religion has been diſhonored and burleſqued by the advancement of ſuch a man to the purple.

I have ſelected the following fact from many others, equally well known, in confirmation of what I have advanced relative to this ſucceſsful adventurer. I give it in the words in which it was tranſmitted to me by a perſon reſident in Paris at the time. I have ſuppreſſed the name of the Lady in conſideration of that reſpect which is due to her rank and ſex; if the truth of the anecdote ſhould be queſtioned, I

appeal

That ſome of the Biſhops have been ſelected from the humble walks in life, and that they were exemplary in their manners, I am ready to admit; but the inſtances have been ſo few, that whenever they occurred the unfortunate prelates became objects of ridicule * to the reſt of

appeal to her uncle, who I believe is in this country, for its veracity.

" Toute la France connait l'anecdote de l'Abbé Maury avec " Mad. de F——. Ce galant prêdicateur du Roi entra un jour " armé d'un piſtolet, dans la chambre à coucher de cette dame " qu'il trouvat au lit—ne pouvant parvenir à ſes fins par ſon elo- " quence il voulut employer la violence.—La dame feignoit de ce- " der—L'Abbé plaça ſon piſtolet au près du lit—La dame s'en " ſaiſit; ſonna ſes gens et fit econduire le galant—il fallut enſuite " la protection du Chancelier Lamoignon, pour qui l'Abbe faiſait " les preambules de ſes edits, pour le ſauver d'une procedure cri- " minelle."

Perhaps one of the reaſons which induced the Pope to make the Abbe a Cardinal, was to conſole him for the diſappointment occaſioned by the reſiſtance of the lady.

* If my memory is correct, it was in the year 1785, that the Abbé Beauvais, Biſhop of Senez, preaching to the aſſembled Clergy at Paris, exhorted them to be exemplary in their morals and economical in their expences.

The advice was certainly good, and not inapplicable to the parties; but as it came from a man of low birth, in whom the *right* of admoniſhing thoſe of ſuperior rank was denied, and the *exerciſe* of it conſidered impertinent, the gentlemen in lawn ſleeves exclaimed, " *Voila, ce que c'eſt que d'admettre*

 des

of the order, and neither obtained credit nor reſpect for the purity they profeſſed and practiſed. If

*des manans dans l'Epiſcopat.**." The conſequence was that the Abbé, compelled by the ill treatment he received from his brethren, reſigned the biſhoprick in a ſhort time, and retired.

Such are the men whom the Monthly Reviewers, or their *officious proxy*, have the effrontery to call "victims of principle;" and is it for having expoſed theſe reverend mountebanks to the ſcorn they merit, that I am accuſed of having libelled my country? Is it becauſe I have ſtated thoſe facts which hiſtory, if it performs its duty, muſt hereafter record and detail much more fully, that I am accuſed of having placed "*the French Clergy and Nobility in a new point of view.*" It may be new to thoſe who are unacquainted with their character; but whether it be new or old, they have placed themſelves in it, and I have done nothing more than POINT THEM OUT. As to the Nobility of France, what can be ſaid more ſevere againſt them than that they abandoned their country, their Sovereign, their wives and their children, on the firſt appearance of tumult?———Was it cowardice or a love of tyranny that urged them to fly from what their intereſt, their duty, and their honor, ſhould have ſtimulated them to defend to the laſt moment of their exiſtence?—If it was the former, they may be objects of pity, for cowardice is an infirmity for which mankind are no more reſponſible than they are for their complexions; but if it proceeded from the latter, they deſerve the deſtiny that has befallen them. If the hapleſs Monarch had effected his eſcape, the men who accompanied him into exile might

* *This is the conſequence of making clowns Biſhops.*

have

If the Catholic religion has fallen into contempt, it is not to be attributed to the looſe and diſſolute

have pleaded in excuſe for deſerting their country an affection for their Sovereign.——I am no ſtranger to the force of perſonal attachments, and when they are ſhewn to an unfortunate, or even to a degraded Prince;—when they blaze with more ardor in his diſtreſs, than they did in his proſperity, they are arguments of virtue, and I honor the man who has the dignity and fortitude to ſacrifice his intereſts to his affections. But theſe men, theſe red hot royaliſts from France, who only love a Court for its ſunſhine, and while they can baſque in it like ſwine, or ſtrut about in it like bantams;—whoſe reverence to the Prince is obſequiouſneſs, and who while boaſting of their high birth, are content to wait like lacquies, in the anti-chamber of men of the loweſt birth, ſoliciting a miſerable portion of that power which is either felt or exerciſed in one ſhape or another by every individual in a deſpotic Government, what claim to compaſſion or reſpect can they urge?—The men whom I have branded with contributing, by their flight as well as by their profligacy, to the ruin of their country, fled as ſoon as they heard the cruſh and beheld the ruins of the Baſtile; their conſciences were awakened by its fall to a ſenſe of guilt, and foreſeeing in its deſtruction, the extinction of that factitious greatneſs ſo dear to little minds, they had not the virtue either to make a ſtruggle for what they loved ſo much, or to rally round the Throne in ſupport of the Prince whoſe fate they pretend to lament. Previous to the Revolution, they preached reſumptions of church lands, and would have ſacrificed the Clergy to their avarice, their pride, and their hatred of religion, they now court the prieſthood, and affect to make a common cauſe with them, in the vain hope that the

diſſolute philoſophy of the times, but to the ſcandalous profligacy of its Clergy, whoſe irregularities, and impoſtures, craft, inſolence, and extortions,

latter yet retain ſome influence over the minds of the people, and that fanaticiſm will reſtore to both Prieſts and Nobles what they have loſt by their profligacy and cowardice. If their morals had been pure and incorrupt, if they had practiſed the duties which men living in ſociety owe to each other, the Revolution would not have been neceſſary, and when it took place, they might have ſtopped its career and prevented its exceſſes, by uniting and forming a phalanx capable of reſiſting the torrent and allaying the ferment; but their property, ſo neceſſary to their comfortable exiſtence, and their titles and diſtinctions, ſo flattering to their vanity and pride, were ſacrificed, with other obligations much more important, to their perſonal ſafety, and they fled from their country with a precipitancy as diſgraceful to the character of thoſe "*who were not afraid to face the bold legions of Britain,*" as it has been ruinous to their fortunes and calamitous to all Europe; for it is owing to the intrigues, falſehoods, and miſrepreſentations of thoſe men diſtinguiſhed in their youth (according to the Monthly Reviewers) "*for levity, diſſipation, frivolity, and even for a laxity of morals,*" and which habits, by the bye, remain with them in ſpite of age, poverty and contempt—that a conſiderable part of the continent at this moment is a ſcene of blood, and expoſed to horrors of much greater magnitude than even thoſe which it has already experienced. Theſe men, whom it is pretended "*have led from generation to generation the armies of France to battle,*" fled however from a conteſt, in which intereſts infinitely dearer to them and to their country were at ſtake, than when they "*ceded the hard fought field to Britiſh valor.*" The men, who were not afraid

to

extortions, have provoked diſquiſitions which have affected more or leſs the credit of all religions, and endangered their eſtabliſhments.

If

to face the "*bold legions of Britain*," were however panic ſtruck at an unarmed and undiſciplined peaſantry, they were terrified at imaginary and embryo conſpiracies, which prudence might have diſſipated, and courage defeated. But their vanity ſtood bawd to both, and rather than relinquiſh an iota of their privileges, exemptions and arrogance, they accelerated a civil war, and involved other nations in a quarrel, the ſad effects of which will be long felt by poſterity.

What an edifying, what a glorious and animating contraſt does the Nobility and Clergy of Great-Britain exhibit to thoſe of France! The latter, diſtinguiſhed for their learning beyond thoſe of all other nations, and no leſs eſteemed for their piety and decorum of manners, enſure that reſpect to religion without which it is impoſſible it can exiſt. Contraſt the mean and contemptible conduct of the French with that of the Nobility in this country, the only men upon earth perhaps who, taken collectively, deſerve the honorable diſtinction of Noble, and what a wonderful difference appears!—Conſpiracies have been formed in this country to ſubvert its Government, and deſtroy the Throne; but inſtead of abandoning either to the mercy of the conſpirators; inſtead of betraying either fear or miſtruſt of the peaſantry and yeomanry, to whom many of them are united by the triple ties of friendſhip, neighbourhood, and conſanguinity they have, by rallying round the Throne and Conſtitution, formed a rampart which their patriotiſm, vigilance, and courage, will render impenetrable to thoſe who would ſcale or deſtroy it.

If the French Nobility had done as much—if they had ſtood by their acres, and ſurrounded the King, inſtead of

abandoning

If the church of Rome, while profeſſing greater purity, had not ſhewn itſelf more corrupt and depraved in practice than any other; if it had not blended every ſpecies of trick, falſehood, and buffoonery, with the awful ſolemnities of devotion, and declared hoſtilities againſt all other forms of worſhip; if to maintain its intolerant principles, it had not diſperſed its ſanguinary proſcriptions over the habitable globe, pronouncing damnation * againſt all thoſe

abandoning the one, and leaving the other an inſulated cypher in his dominions, they would have had no occaſion to ſtimulate Europe to arms, not for the purpoſe that they pretend of reſtoring religion, or monarchy, or peace, to their deſolated and diſtracted country, but to recover their miſtreſſes, their gew-gaws, and their cordons bleu †.

† In the commencement of the war there was nothing more common than to hear theſe gentlemen anticipating their return to France in full poſſeſſion of their power, and boaſting of the manner in which they would puniſh their tenants; and in theſe empty menaces, their vacant and depraved minds found conſolation for the diſgrace, poverty, and obſcurity to which they are reduced.

* It is one of the tenets of the religion of Rome, that "*there is no ſalvation out of that Church*;" and this doctrine, as cruel as it is impious when addreſſed to thoſe of weak minds, for the purpoſe of making proſelytes, is frequently urged with extreme zeal, and ſometimes with much rancor and ſeverity to Proteſtant children, in convents and colleges for education; they are told that their parents being heretics will

thoſe without its pale, and exerciſing a brutal and wanton deſpotiſm over the minds of all thoſe within it, there is little doubt but it would have ſtood to the laſt moment of recorded time, and have been, what religion ought ever to be, a ſource of much future hope and preſent comfort to mankind. But its vices have worked its deſtruction; and it is not a random conjecture to ſay, that if its paſtors in France had obſerved that ſimplicity of manners which belongs excluſively to minds that are ingenuous and incorrupt, the laity would have followed the example, and the nation have been preſerved from all the terrible calamities which a contrary conduct has entailed on it.

A ſimplicity of manners is only to be maintained by examples, and theſe examples muſt proceed from thoſe in elevated ſtations.

There is not in all hiſtory, either ancient or modern, that I have read, even one inſtance of

will inevitably be damned. Their infant minds being worked upon in this manner, have been converted, under the blaſphemous pretext, that it is better to renounce their father and mother than God; while the pious hypocrite conſoles himſelf for this flagrant breach of the greateſt truſt that can be repoſed in him, with the reflection of having added an unimportant unit to his little community.

a change

a change being accompliſhed in the morals and manners of a country by the example of the meaner citizens—their corruptions prefer obſcurity to the glare of day, and are eaſily ſuppreſſed, for they never aſcend; but whenever the higher orders are weak and baſe enough to ſet the example of vice, the contagion becomes general, and ſpreads itſelf with wonderful force and rapidity: This truth, ſo evident to whoever reflects, and ſo wofully confirmed by the revolution in France, ſhould ſerve as a leſſon to thoſe who are entruſted with the adminiſtration of public affairs, and convince them that the beſt and moſt durable ſupport of government is the preſervation of morals*.

* It is miſrepreſentation, and in one ſenſe iniquitous, to brand the year 1789 with the vices of the ſubſequent years. Let the moſt virtuous or the moſt vicious, the moſt affluent or the moſt indigent of thoſe who took a decided part on the former epoch, declare whether they would not have preferred the ancient order of things to the anarchy that unhappily prevails at preſent, and if they anſwer in the affirmative, it is fair to conclude, that with all their zeal for liberty, they would have relinquiſhed its ineſtimable bleſſings, rather than have obtained them at the terrible expence of ſo much public and private ruin.

MONTHLY REVIEW.

Art. 17. *A Letter to the Duke of Grafton, with Notes.* To which is annexed a Complete Exculpation of M. de la Fayette from the Charges indecently urged againſt him by Mr. Burke in the Houſe of Commons on the 17th of March 1794. 8vo. 2s. 6d. Owen.

In our opinion, the author of this letter, which, if we rightly recollect, was firſt inſerted in the morning paper entitled The *True Briton*, has either miſtaken, or overrated his talents. It ſeems as if he thought to acquire reputation from an attack on a character that had attracted the notice of the celebrated Junius:—but what a difference between the aſſailants! The one, even in the heat of his indignation againſt the miniſter, did not for a moment loſe ſight of the reſpect which he owed to himſelf as a gentleman, and to the public at whoſe bar he was arraigning the accuſed. He conducted the proceedings with decorum; and his language was ſuited to the dignity of the tribunal which was to try the cauſe, and to the importance of the cauſe itſelf. His ſatire, ſharpened by wit, and enforced by eloquence, was of the fineſt temper and of the keeneſt edge; it cut, but did not mangle; it pared to the quick, but did not butcher; in a word, "it ſpoke daggers, but uſed none."

The author of this pamphlet, though ſeemingly anxious to tread in the footſteps of ſo great a predeceſſor, ſoon loſes ſight of the language and ſentiment of Junius, and

ſpeaks as if he meaned to form his ſtyle on the model of Shakeſpeare's knight, whoſe great *forte* lay in ſaying the coarſeſt things in the coarſeſt way, and who was famous for that fruitful ingenuity which teemed with ſuch a variety of abuſive expreſſions, as confounded and ſtruck dumb the perſons againſt whom they were vented. The ſatire of the preſent writer reſembles a bludgeon; and he appears as expert in brandiſhing it, as any of the gentlemen uſually employed at elections to lay about them with that courtly weapon. If the uſe of hard names, and of harſh epithets, can give excellence to an author, this production might be accounted truly excellent.—— When a man is charged with any delinquency, what a lack of proof muſt there be, when the accuſer is obliged to ranſack the aſhes of the dead, and to draw from the tomb of oblivion the character of an anceſtor, for the purpoſe of putting to ſhame her *great great* grandſon! That man muſt ſurely have few perſonal faults, againſt whom it is thus thought neceſſary to array thoſe of his relations long ſince repoſing in the grave.

In proceeding thus againſt the Duke of Grafton, it is evident that our author is putting Charles II. and the Ducheſs of Cleveland on their trial, inſtead of arraigning their deſcendant; for what have the vices of the two former to do with the conduct of his Grace during the preſent ſeſſion of Parliament? Does the author mean to ſay that the part which the Duke of Grafton has taken with reſpect to the exiſting war, [and which appears to be the foundation of this invective performance,] was wrong, becauſe his great great-grandmother bore ſeveral children to King Charles II. without having been his wife? If he does not mean this, his alluſion to the Duke's deſcent

ſerves

ſerves only to diſplay his illiberality, which muſt recoil on himſelf.—To ſhew that we are not unjuſt in this judgment, we extract the following paſſage:

" Have a care, my Lord, the game you propoſe to " play is deeper than you ſuſpect. The people are not " uninformed of the foul and polluted ſource from " whence you derive your rank and income. They are " not to be told, that with one or two exceptions, your " pedigree can claim more infamy, and leſs antiquity " than that of any other peer in parliament, and, ſurely " under ſuch circumſtances, and under ſuch an accu- " mulation of hereditary and acquired odium, it ill be- " comes you to remind us of the impudent violation of " the laws, by which your anceſtor was advanced to ho- " nour and independence."

Immediately following this paragraph, is a menace which, though thrown out againſt the Duke of Grafton, might alarm every man of property in the kingdom: " Be adviſed, my Lord (ſays the author) and do not add " to the ill humour that prevails, leſt it ſhould extend to " promote an enquiry that may terminate in depriving " you of what, (by an unwarrantable aud ſcandalous " abuſe of power) has been ſettled on your family, and " force you to obſerve that œconomy from neceſſity, " which you have latterly practiſed from choice." This menace is founded on a principle that would ſhake to its foundation all the freehold, and perhaps all the funded, property of the kingdom. The wiſdom of every legiſla- ture on earth has found it neceſſary, in order to quiet the minds of men, to fix a period beyond which an in- quiry ſhall not be inſtituted, as to by what other title

than poſſeſſion an eſtate is holden. In this country, a title originally bad is made good, if the land, tenable under it, has been in the peaceable poſſeſſion of an individual, or of thoſe from whom he derives, for the ſpace of ſixty years. Such a poſſeſſion becomes in itſelf a title which nothing can ſhake, until law be driven from the judgment ſeat, and oppreſſion be let looſe on ſociety in the name of public juſtice, and in the form of *reſumptions*. The Duke of Grafton's tenure is by a grant from the crown under the great ſeal; if there were any defect in the grant from want of legal power in the crown to make it, it has been ſupplied or cured by an act of parliament; and, ſuperadded to that, his Grace can plead the preſcription of poſſeſſion for ſixty years, which would bar a *writ of right*,—the higheſt writ known to the law of England.—If all this ſhould not be able to bear an enquiry into the Duke of Grafton's title, what could prevent this inquiry from extending to all the grants made by the crown for centuries paſt? At the time of the reformation, the abbey lands, equal in extent to a fifth part of all England, were by act of parliament veſted in the crown for the *public* uſe. In a very ſhort ſpace of time, they were nearly all granted away to court favourites. On what principle ſhould theſe grants be viewed as ſacred, while thoſe made to the Duke of Grafton's anceſtors ſhould be reſumed? They ſtand on the ſame foundation: he who attacks one of them attacks all; and the man who even hints at a reſumption of any of them muſt, one would almoſt think, have made up his mind to a civil war.

The author appears to be aware of the alarming extent to which his principle of inquiry might lead; and

he

he endeavours to draw out the ſting, by making a diſtinction between what he calls the fruits of honeſt induſtry, and the dilapidation of the public revenue. Notwithſtanding this diſtinction, the ſting yet remains. Parliament, in providing for the public ſervice, may grant a revenue ariſing from lands, rents, rent charges, or duties on imported articles: the accumulated maſs belongs to the public, and its deſtination is for public uſes. The alienation of any part of it, whether of cuſtom-houſe duties, rents, or lands out of which they ariſe, is equally a diverſion of the money from the end for which it was granted; and therefore no difference whatever, in point of principle, can be found between the grants of Charles II. to his natural children, and thoſe made by Henry VIII. to his favourites, of the abbey lands which were veſted in the crown for the ſpecific purpoſe of defraying the expences of the ſtate, and in conſequence of a promiſe that the king, being thus enriched, would apply no more to his people for ſubſidies. The titles, by which the original grantees held, might have been in their nature unjuſt, and, in equity at leaſt, might be deemed invalid: but they have all been ſince clothed with every ſanction that parliament or preſcription can give; they are therefore *now* as ſacred as any in the kingdom; and he muſt be poor calculator indeed, who, ſetting aſide all conſideration of the blood which muſt infallibly be ſhed in an attempt to enforce a general reſumption of grants of this nature, cannot diſcover that the meaſure would cauſe infinitely more money to be expended than it ever could bring into the exchequer:—but, ſuppoſing the principle of reſumption to be juſt, is it reducible to practice? Should a man, with the fruits of his honeſt induſtry, have made purchaſe of a grant, which, however invalid

valid in its origin, had afterward received the ſanction of the whole legiſlature; would our author in that caſe, under the pretence that he had purchaſed a bad title, take from him what his honeſt earnings had enabled him to buy? The poſſeſſion of ſuch grants procured, no doubt, advantageous matches for the grantees: would it be juſt to rob the poſterity of innocent men of their ſettlements, who gave their daughters in marriage, and with them large fortunes, in conſideration of the eſtates which theſe grantees then appeared legally to poſſeſs? This was the caſe with the Earl of Arlington; who, finding that Charles II, had made an ample proviſion for his ſon, the firſt Duke of Grafton, gave him in marriage the Lady Eliſabeth Bennet, his only child, and with her all his eſtates. Would it be equitable to take from that Earl's heir, the preſent Duke of Grafton, the beneficial grant from the crown, which was, we may preſume, no ſmall inducement to Lord Arlington to conſent to receive the firſt Duke of that name for his ſon in law?

Inquiries into the mode by which eſtates were acquired, being once ſet on foot, would certainly not be confined to lands; they would ſoon be extended to acquiſitions made by contractors, public officers, and perſons who had advanced money to government by way of loan, on terms advantageous to themſelves, but which the inquirers would call rapacious and uſurious; they might inſiſt that navy and ordnance bills ſhould be diſcharged at the price given for them by the laſt purchaſer, when the diſcount was the higheſt; and they might vote it to be no breach of public faith to reſolve that, on repayment of the price which any ſtockholder actually gave for

ſtock,

ſtock, his claim to be paid off at *par* ſhould be extinguiſhed.

Such are the lengths to which, we think, the author's principle of inquiry might be carried; we therefore conſidered it to be in the higheſt degree dangerous to the peace of ſociety; and we hope that our readers will not think we have taken up too much of their time in animadverting on a paſſage in which we diſcovered the ſeeds of inexpreſſible calamities to our country.

The French clergy and nobility he places in a new point of view; the former he calls "an itinerant diſſolute prieſthood," and, in common with the clergy of other national churches of the ſame communion, "vile and contemptible:"—the latter he repreſents as "men "who deſerted their acres on the firſt alarm," "a "*cowardly* race of miſcreants, the ſtouteſt of whom "would tremble to encounter, and ſhrink into nothing "at the ſight of, M. de la Fayette;"—and both together he honours with the appellation of "a beggarly crew of biſhops and nobles." Who is it that thus brands with the epithets "vile and contemptible" a body of men who poſſeſſed a great portion of the light and abilities of one of the moſt enlightened nations on earth: men diſtinguiſhed by birth, dignities, and education? Who is he who thus libels his own country for having received, cheriſhed, and fed as victims of principle, (whether well or ill founded is not the queſtion), a ſet of unfortunate men in whom it had not penetration enough to diſcover that there was nothing but what was vile and contemptible? Who is this mighty hero that ſees nothing in thoſe who, from generation to generation, have led the

the armies of France to battle, but a *cowardly* race of miſcreants? Who is he who blaſts the reputation of *Britons*, by ſaying that thoſe French nobles, to whom they have ſometimes been obliged to cede the hard fought field, and who of courſe were not afraid to look the bold legions of Britain in the face, were a ſet of poltroons, the ſtouteſt of whom would ſhrink into nothing at the ſight of one of their own body? Is it becauſe they are cowards that England boaſts that ſhe has ſometimes defeated them, or that ſhe is now putting arms into their hands? —The nobles of France have frequently been deſcribed as men of levity and diſſipation, remarkable in their youthful days for frivolity, and often for laxity of morals: but we never heard of that man who thought it *prudent*, unmaſked, and in the face of day, to call in queſtion their *courage*, much leſs to brand them with the name of *cowards*. We can ſay, from our own knowledge, that there are many of that body now in England, who, ſo far from rejoicing in the impriſonment of M. de la Fayette, (which, by the bye, might well be a ſource of joy to men who would tremble at the ſight of him,) lament it moſt ſincerely;—not becauſe they think him an injured man, but becauſe his confinement deprives them of an opportunity of calling him to account for what *they deem* his treachery to the beſt of ſovereigns.— We pretend not to ſay that they are right in charging him with having betrayed the king; nay we even think that our author exculpates him, fairly, from the charge: all that we mean is that, ſo far from trembling at the idea of meeting him, there are many of them who would travel over half the globe, to have the pleaſure of telling him to his beard what they think of his conduct:—but whatever cauſe theſe gentlemen may have for being offended

fended with M. de la Fayette, the King of Pruſſia can have no right, founded either in the laws of war or of nations, for the treatment which he has made his priſoner experience ſince his captivity.

We here cloſe our review of a work which, if it were not by its author brought in competition with the Letters of Junius, might in point of energetic diction be entitled to ſome praiſe,—but which the ſelf-ſufficiency and illiberality that run through it will not ſuffer us to paſs over without cenſure, notwithſtanding the abilities of the writer."

There is nothing more common than for men to miſtake or over-rate their talents. The error is univerſal; and deſcending through the voluminous gradations of civilized life, it infects the general maſs, and marks with more or leſs diſtinction all ranks and deſcriptions of people. It is the natural reſult of that egotiſm which every man poſſeſſes in a greater or leſſer degree, however artfully he may conceal it; and the inſtances in which it occurs are ſo frequent, and at the ſame time ſo very unimportant, that they ſcarce deſerve notice or rebuke. Conſidering this propenſity as a foible incident to humanity, I ſhould think very ill indeed of the urbanity or capacity of the man, who would treat it as a vice, and puniſh it with all the ſeverity due to crime; for offenſive as it may appear, when

 contraſted

contraſted with the unaffected modeſty of thoſe who are leſs aſſuming, it is but a folly, and a folly of ſuch little conſequence to the community, and ſo little likely to affect the general intereſts of ſociety, that it more frequently provokes laughter than reprehenſion, and is ſeldom entitled to grave and dignified cenſure. Vanity, like quickſilver, remains perfectly inoffenſive and inert until it comes in contact with ſubſtances of a nature to call forth its dormant powers. We have little to apprehend from the man who entertaining an extravagant idea of his talents, undervalues the capacities of others, and acts in oppoſition to the reſt of the world—His vanity, puſhed to exceſs, recoils on himſelf;—it even deprives him of that portion of eſteem to which he may have an equitable claim, and he ſtands alone without credit, reſpect or influence, an object of contempt and ridicule. Men of this deſcription, though they may diſguſt us, cannot injure us; they are at leaſt harmleſs, and even their folly is entitled to forgiveneſs, in conſideration of the mirth it affords us. But when the world miſtakes or over-rates the talents of an individual (as it is ſometimes apt to do) and enables him to obtain a ſituation in the ſtate for which he has neither parts nor attainments, the evil may be of ſerious import: his vanity converted into arrogance, becomes at once miſ-

chievous

chievous and dangerous, and the country has every thing to apprehend from the raſhneſs and pretenſions of a man raiſed into credit and power by an indiſcreet and premature confidence in his wiſdom and integrity. If the validity of this diſtinction is admitted, and it is criminal in an individual "*to miſtake or over-rate his abilities*," the cenſure which the compilers of the Monthly Review have beſtowed on the author of the Letter to the Duke of Grafton would have applied with much greater force and propriety to the perſon to whom that performance is addreſſed—for his Grace certainly *miſtook or over-rated* his capacity very much indeed when he aſſumed the direction of public affairs in 1766; nor can we reflect on the diſaſters that enſued, and on the blood that was wantonly ſhed during his preſidency at the Treaſury, without feeling the utmoſt indignation for the man, who preſuming on his rank and connections, had the effrontery to cabal and intrigue for an office for which he muſt have known at the time that he was unqualified.

It is in ſuch inſtances as theſe where the egotiſm of individuals merits reproach, and ſhould be reprobated. When a man of this deſcription, with all the blunders and miſchiefs of his Adminiſtration freſh in remembrance,

comes forward, and preſumes to controul Government;—when, with the imbecillity of age added to all that petulance and poverty of intellect which marked the prime and vigor of his life, he attempts to embarraſs the executive power in a moment like the preſent full of danger and of difficulty, and when a decided and perfect unanimity throughout the country can alone preſerve the nation from ruin, I cannot admit that any epithets are too ſtrong for a conduct ſo atrocious, or any cenſure too ſevere for an object ſo contemptible. I am accuſed of "*endeavouring to acquire reputation from an attack* "*on a character that had attracted the notice of* "*Junius.*" Admitting the fact, the vanity muſt ſurely be of a very humble caſt that contents itſelf with expoſing the ridiculous ambition of decrepid age, graſping for power on the brink of the grave, without capacity to exerciſe it, or any reaſonable motive for wiſhing it. The truth or falſehood however of this charge may be diſcovered in much the ſame manner as the common rules of arithmetic are proved; and if thoſe who advanced it had aſked themſelves, whether they believed that the letter in queſtion would have been addreſſed to the Duke of Grafton, if his Grace had not come forward to thwart the meaſures of the Crown at a period the moſt awful and diſtreſſing of any recorded in hiſtory?

tory? I do not think they would have hazarded the aſſertion. The queſtion therefore for the conſideration of the Reviewers was not whether I was urged by the hope of fame to attack an officious and ſorry old man for his miſchievous preſumption, but whether his public conduct in the inſtance alluded to was reprehenſible? If the anſwer ſhould be in the affirmative, the aſperity of my language is juſtified by the occaſion; and thoſe who are beſt acquainted with the hiſtory, temper, and capacity of the Duke of Grafton, will conſider his hoſtile interference at this criſis, and at this period of his life, under all the diſgraceful circumſtances attending it, as an aggravation of his guilt, and of courſe acquit me of *miſtaking or rver-rating my talents*, for having held him out to public ſcorn.

It is however not improbable but the gentlemen who have upbraided me for a failing which I poſſeſs in common with the reſt of mankind may be to the full as much entited to the rebuke as myſelf.—It is poſſible that they may have very much *miſtaken or over-rated* THEIR *talents* when they aſſumed the arduous and difficult taſk of ſitting in judgment on the various publications which daily iſſue from the preſs on all ſubjects and almoſt in all languages; for to much general

neral and ſcientific knowledge, great erudition, great taſte, and much good temper, united with a mind poſſeſſed of ſtrong diſcriminating powers, ſhould be added. Theſe qualifications are indiſpenſable for the office they have undertaken to perform, and without them a critic * would be as little deſerving of attention as an author without attainments or ideas. To what extent the gentlemen in queſtion poſſeſs theſe endowments may be collected from their criticiſms; and judging of the former by the latter, it may poſſibly be thought that the reproach of ſelf-ſufficiency more properly belongs to the Monthly Reviewers than to the author of the letter addreſſed to the worthleſs deſcendant of the moſt worthleſs of the Stuarts; but whether the letter

* It has been aſſured to me ſince the above was written, that theſe *gentlemen* are not inſenſible to attentions which adminiſter to their wants, and that a well-timed guinea has enſured to many a blockhead what indigent merit could never obtain. It is alſo ſaid, that authors apprized of the venality, or diſtreſs of theſe Reviewers, ſend criticiſms on their own works with the accuſtomed fee, and that ſometimes malevolence comes to the market with her one pound one, and gives a ſting to virtue and to truth. Having neither ſpleen to indulge, nor vanity to gratify, I cannot on my own knowledge vouch for the veracity of this accuſation, which, whether true or falſe, appears at all events to have a much better foundation, and to have been urged with much leſs levity than that of an intention on my part to preach reſumptions, which the Monthly Reviewers have ſo peremptorily advanced againſt me.

(which

(which has provoked ſo much ill-humour in theſe intelligent gentlemen) is well or ill written, can be of little import compared to the magnitude of the object to which it relates, or to the conſequences attributed to the public conduct of the Duke of Grafton. If the inferences which the author has drawn from the proceedings of his Grace are fair or probable, and if his ſtatement of facts is juſt, the coarſe language from which he is condemned may prove indeed a want of education, but it by no means diſqualifies him for diſcuſſing a ſubject to which he is competent in every other reſpect. If the line which the Duke of Grafton has taken is likely to encourage the ſeditious and diſaffected in their deſigns againſt the Conſtitution, he merits the ſeverity with which he has been treated, and it is by this alone that his adverſary on the preſent occaſion ſhould be convicted or acquitted. It is fair to preſume that every man who commits his thoughts to paper does it in the beſt manner he is able; and if my ſtile is leſs elegant and correct than the compoſitions of thoſe who criticiſe it, I do not think it is a ſufficient reaſon for rejecting my arguments, or refuſing to inveſtigate the truth or falſehood of my allegations, and ſtill leſs can it juſtify the conſtruction which has been artfully put on ſeveral paſſages in my letter, unleſs indeed it was the

intention

intention of theſe gentlemen to turn the tables againſt me, by attributing thoſe very deſigns to my writings which they profeſs to condemn, and which I have ſo ſeverely cenſured in others. All miſrepreſentation has its ſource in malice or in ignorance, and in either caſe ſhould be refuted. It is a deviation from the ſober and correct line of truth, and whenever the intention is concerned, it is an offence againſt ſociety and ought to be puniſhed. The charge of having "*over-rated or miſtaken my talents*," is perhaps well founded, yet it has been urged with a degree of virulence and ill-humour not very decent or conſiſtent in men who are advocates for mildneſs and decorum, and which it certainly behoved them to enforce by example at the moment they were recommending the practice of them to others. If any credit is due to the teſtimony of theſe gentlemen, it is not folly but crime with which they ſhould have reproached me, for the man "*whoſe mind is made up to civil war*" in the ſenſe which they would inſinuate, and whoſe object is "*to ſhake the property of others*," deſerves ſomething more than cenſure, and is infinitely more formidable and much more to be dreaded than "*Shakeſpear's knight whoſe great forte lay in ſaying the coarſeſt things the coarſeſt way.*" The Monthly Reviewers aſſert that my menace to the Duke of Grafton is founded on "*a principle*

"*that*

" *that would ſhake all the freehold and perhaps all*
" *the funded property of the kingdom.*"

If theſe gentlemen were as expert in argument as they appear to be in abuſe, they would have omitted the word *perhaps* as ſuperfluous, for the freehold, by which I ſuppoſe they mean the landed property, is the only real and permanent ſecurity for the *funded* property, and it requires no extraordinary ſkill in finance to know that whatever deſtroys the former muſt inevitably annihilate the latter. Without dwelling however upon what would deſerve little notice if it had not fallen from men who profeſs to be juſt, and in whom inaccuracy is a vice, I ſhall ſtate by way of explanation, and merely as my opinion, that whatever tends to accuſe the Miniſter of having wantonly plunged the country into war, has a direct tendency to excite a rebellion in the country. Whether the war is well or ill-conducted muſt be left for future conſideration.—It is a queſtion on which no man is at preſent competent to decide, nor ſhould it come under diſcuſſion unleſs provoked by ſome very flagrant miſmanagement, which involves in it the honor and ſafety of the kingdom.

If the war was unprovoked and unavoidable, as I truſt I have demonſtrated in a for-

mer publication *, and which Mr. Dumourier has ſince acknowledged in his Memoirs †, the neceſſity of proſecuting it to an happy and ſpeedy concluſion muſt be granted, and every meaſure of courſe condemned which has the moſt remote tendency to check the awakened ardor of the nation, or to impede the operations of Government; and as nothing is more likely to effect theſe purpoſes than to deſcribe the country to be in a ſtate of calamity and ruin from the war, and to place the war to the account of the Miniſter, I felt it a duty to come forward (for it is from conviction that I write, and not for hire) and contradict aſſertions which I knew to be falſe, and which, whatever may have been the motives of thoſe who advanced them, were at leaſt injudicious, if not criminal. If ſuch language was indecent in men whoſe former conduct in office or in Parliament was undeſerving of blame, how much

* Vide—The Conduct of France towards Great-Britain, with an Appendix and Notes, printed for J. Nicol, in Pall-Mall.

† The firſt cauſe of Dumourier's quarrel with the Convention was on account of their not immediately acceding to his propoſal of invading Holland, by the taking of Maeſtricht in the Winter of 1792, and to which they only demurred, until matters were ripe for an inſurrection at the Hague and at Amſterdam.

more

more reprehenſible was it in a man whoſe whole adminiſtration was frivolous, diſreputable, and atrocious, and who was himſelf a proper object of crimination?—Does it become the Duke of Grafton to talk of the rights of the people and of the dignity of Parliament, while we bear in painful remembrance, that during the period of almoſt four years the latter was degraded into a penſioned confederacy againſt the former?—Is it for the man to talk of the honor and proſperity of the country, who endangered its peace by violating the freedom of election, and who abandoned his Sovereign in the hour of alarm to the fury of a miſguided populace? This is the delinquency with which his Grace ſtands charged; and if the circumſtance of his diſgraceful origin has been alluded to, it was not "*to reproach him with the libertiniſm of his great grandmother*," but to humble that arrogance and inſolence with which he is apt to treat men of ſuperior pretenſions in point of birth, talents, and character. An oppoſition from ſuch a quarter can never be entitled to much credit I confeſs, but when it has a tendency to augment the ſeditious clamours of men whoſe object is to ſubvert all our civil and eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments, it cannot be expoſed too early or treated too ſeverely. The times have a perilous aſpect, not only to men whoſe minds are naturally gloomy,

but to thoſe who, accuſtomed to reaſon and reflect, weigh well the circumſtances of the moment, and look forward to probable events and contingencies.

It is become neceſſary to act with vigour at home as well as abroad. The times require great firmneſs, tempered with great diſcretion, or the reciprocal obligations of protection and allegiance will give way to diſtruſt, fraud and violence, and finally end in an anarchy infinitely more terrible than the moſt confirmed and ferocious deſpotiſm.

The ſtruggle in which we are engaged is momentous, and requires every exertion of which the reſources and manly ſpirit of the nation are capable. It is not only a foreign war that we have to ſupport, but a faction of a very formidable nature to ſubdue—a faction that diſclaims the little intereſts of party or of an individual, and that boldly avows an intention to effect, by the application of an axe to all our eſtabliſhments, an entire revolution in the minds and hearts of men; an univerſal change in our modes and habits of thinking and acting, to accompliſh which the nation muſt become a ſcene of carnage and of blood! Under circumſtances ſo alarming, we have no ſecurity againſt the ſanguinary

guinary projects of our enemies but in OURSELVES.—It is our courage and our virtue that muſt preſerve us from the ruin that aſſails us, and whoever oppoſes that unanimity, that ſpirit of concord, which can alone give effect to the exertions of Government, muſt either be influenced by miſchievous motives, or be inſenſible of the dilemma to which the country is reduced. To thoſe of the former deſcription all arguments are vain—on minds ſo callous and corrupt the laws alone can operate; but on thoſe of the latter deſcription, or who may be ſtimulated to oppoſe Adminiſtration with a view to ſupplant them, it may not be amiſs to try the expedients of admonition and remonſtrance. I acquit the Duke of Grafton of any wiſh to ſee the Government diſſolved; I feel aſſured of the contrary; but though he has no ſuch view, his recent conduct in Parliament tends to encourage thoſe who have ſuch deſigns; and if the opinions which his Grace has lately advanced were to become general, and the people be convinced that this country is the aggreſſor in the war *, the

* I have ſo often aſſerted that they could not avoid the war, and I have given ſuch unqueſtionable evidence of the fact, that it is unneceſſary to recur again to a ſubject on which it is impoſſible there ſhould be two opinions among men of candor and information. As an additional proof however

the clamours of the diſaffected would augment, their numbers would multiply, and a revolution enſue perhaps to an extent equal to what we have

however of my veracity, the actual Government in France reprobates the war with England as violently as the gentlemen in oppoſition. The former however differ moſt eſſentially with the latter, by throwing on the people who were in power from the Autumn of 1792 to February 1793, the guilt and odium of the calamities which afflict the two nations:—the Britiſh Miniſtry are completely abſolved from the charge of having provoked hoſtilities, while thoſe who were connected with the Executive Council at the time above-mentioned, who were employed on miſſion in this country, are purſued with relentleſs fury as the AUTHORS OF THE WAR. The following extract from a letter, dated the twenty-ſecond of laſt month, is this inſtant come to hand, and as my correſpondent has effected his eſcape, and has no longer any thing to hope or to fear from his countrymen in France, I do not hazard his perſonal ſafety by availing myſelf of the latitude he gave me ſome time ſince to make any uſe I pleaſed of his letters.

I cannot however prevail upon myſelf to publiſh this extract without bearing teſtimony to his very zealous efforts to prevent the rupture, and to his repeated declarations to Le Brun that the Executive Council was impoſed upon by its agents in this country, not only reſpecting the hoſtile views of the Britiſh Cabinet, but with regard to the temper and diſpoſition of the nation at large, which was reported on the authority of Mr. Hardy, and ſome other vagabonds of that deſcription, to be reſolved on a revolution.

One of the people employed on miſſion by Le Brun had the indecency to boaſt to me in the preſence of my correſpondent, that

have ſeen on the continent, and which the coldeſt mind cannot contemplate without horror. Convinced as I am of this truth, it was certainly allowable

that in caſe of hoſtilities we ſhould be deſerted by the army and navy, whom France well knew how to ſeduce over to her intereſt. It was in conſequence of this menace, and to counteract any ſuch attempts, that I ſtarted the idea of a public ſubſcription for the widows and orphans of thoſe ſoldiers and ſeamen who ſhould fall in the courſe of the preſent war: I had no doubt but a meaſure popular in itſelf from its humanity would be adopted, and I felt aſſured that it would operate as a check to the gentlemen on the other ſide of the channel. Another motive was, that while it demonſtrated to the army and navy the well-merited attention of their fellow-ſubjects, it would tend to convince the enemy of the unanimity and loyalty of the nation. Impelled by theſe conſiderations, I requeſted Mr. Devaynes to call a public meeting, for the purpoſe of taking my propoſal into conſideration, and the amount of the ſubſcriptions is a proof that I had not miſtaken the character of my countrymen. I only mention this circumſtance, as it enables me to do juſtice to my correſpondent, who reprobated the perfidy of the propoſed expedient, and on his leaving England, gave me the ſame advice as that with which the following letter concludes.

22 *May*, 1794.

" VOUS avez certainement appris ce que s'eſt paſſé à " mon égard. Des gens qui ne me connaiſſent pas, m'accuſent " D'AVOIR ETE L'AUTUER DE CETTE HORRI- " BLE GUERRE entre nos deux pays;—vous ſavez, mon " cher Miles, ce qu'il en eſt, et combien j'ai fait d'efforts " pour la prévenir.—Vainement, le veriez vous la voix en

" ma

allowable to remind his Grace, by way of admonition, of the title by which he holds a very conſiderable portion of his income, and which, ſanctioned

" ma faveur.—Votre témoignage ne ſerait d'aucun poids.
" Je ſuis une nouvelle preuve que dans un tems de revolution
" la pureté des intentions & la droiture du cœur ne ſuffiſent
" pour défendre un honette homme—au moment où je vous
" parle, peut-être ſuis-je proſcrit dans ma patrie que j'ai
" trop bien ſervie. J'attens avec une grande reſignation de
" fort mauvaiſes nouvelles, car je n'ai plus un ſeul ami à
" Paris.—Tout a peris—tout eſt mort ou dans les fers.—Je
" connais aſſez votre bon cœur pour être perſuadé que vous
" repondrez promptement à cette lettre dont l'objet eſt inte-
" reſſant pour me mettre en ſureté & chercher quelque azile
" écarté où je doive ma ſubſiſtance au travail de mes mains
" —Adieu—Soyez plus heureux que moi ; que les malheurs
" de la France ſervent de leçon aux perſonnes de tous les
" partis chez vous."

TRANSLATION.

You have certainly been informed of what has happened to me.—I am accuſed by thoſe who do not know me of BEING THE AUTHOR OF THE HORRIBLE WAR AGAINST YOUR COUNTRY.—You can ſpeak to a certainty on the ſubject, and know how very much I exerted myſelf to prevent it—yet you would elevate your voice in vain in my favour—your evidence would be of no weight.—I am a freſh proof that in a moment of revolution, rectitude of intention and purity of heart are inſufficient protections for an honeſt man.—At the inſtant I am writing to you, I am perhaps baniſhed from my country, for having faithfully ſerved it.—I ſhall wait the dire event with great reſignation, for

ſanctioned as it may have been by preſcription as well as by grants from the Crown and from Parliament, I maintain to have been in the firſt inſtance a ſcandalous abuſe of power, and which from that very circumſtance would moſt probably, in caſe of civil tumult, be the firſt to be inveſtigated and cancelled.—To ſay that I recommend ſuch a reſumption is an impudent miſrepreſentation of my ſentiments; nor is it very decent, or indeed very prudent in the Monthly Reviewers to compare a fradulent appropriation of the public revenue in favour of the ſpurious iſſue of a worthleſs and laſcivious Prince with the well-earned fruits of honeſt induſtry or of laudable ambition.

What cannot be vindicated ſhould be paſſed over in ſilence; and if the Reviewers, who have lain aſide the critic to plead the cauſe of deſpotiſm and diſhoneſty, really wiſh well to the

for I have not a ſingle friend at Paris—They have all periſhed!—They are either in the grave or in priſon.——I am ſufficiently acquainted with the goodneſs of your heart to know that you will return me an immediate anſwer to this letter, the object of which is intereſting to my perſonal ſafety, and to enable me to ſeek an aſylum in ſolitude, where I may owe my future ſubſtence to the ſweat of my brow.—Adieu, and may you be happier than I am——May the misfortunes of France ſerve as a leſſon to all parties in your country.

Duke of Grafton and to the other *illuſtrious* deſcendants from the ſame Houſe, they will drop a ſubject which was mentioned with no other view than to ſtate to his Grace the extreme danger he had to apprehend, if he with held his ſupport from Government at this awful criſis, when the diſaffected of different deſcriptions conſider every member of either Houſe of Parliament that oppoſes the Crown, as a tower of ſtrength to their party, and who regard every cenſure on the conflict in which we are engaged as an indirect approbation of the French ſyſtem.

Having juſtified this part of my letter, I will quiet the minds of theſe critics by aſſuring them that it never was my intention to put either "*Charles the Second or his concubines on their trial,*" and that however much I may lament his having eſcaped out of life without receiving the puniſhment due to his perfidy and tyranny (for he had a *better* claim to the block than his father) I have no objection to his ſleeping undiſturbed until the trumpet calls him from his tomb to receive the puniſhment due to his crimes.—Neither ſhould I have reminded his Grace of his diſgraceful origin, if he had not proved by his inſufferable inſolence to a noble Lord *, (his

* Lord Thurlow.

ſuperior

ſuperior in every reſpect) that he had himſelf forgotten it. Surely it ill became this "*accident of an accident*" to rail at the introduction of "*new men*" into the Houſe of Peers, and to upbraid them with the obſcurity of their birth. Of what *antiquity* is the family of his Grace, and what are the *merits* of *his* anceſtors that he ſhould dare to queſtion the propriety of any man's advancement to the Peerage?—Peace to all his grandmothers—God bleſs them—let them ſleep in quiet, I have no objections, but let their "*GREAT grand child*" ſo conduct himſelf as to induce us to *forget* the ſource to which we are indebted for much miſchief and diſhonor.—It is not in my nature to be unjuſt;—neither do I traffic in ſlander, and with a pen in one hand, and the other ſtretched out for alms; flatter or abuſe thoſe who pay or ſpurn me.—It is impoſſible that I can be lukewarm in a cauſe which involves in its iſſue the peace, comfort, and ſecurity of millions. The meaſured punctilios of a gentleman uſher, or of a maſter of the ceremonies, but ill correſpond with the bold and nervous diction of remonſtrance—my language muſt be ſuited to the dignity and magnitude of my ſubject, and I cannot, in compliance with the effeminate refinement of the times, caſtrate truth of its manhood, and ſacrifice the vigor of thought to ſound.—If in the warmth of

my reſentment I have had recourſe to expreſſions that ſound harſh or offenſive to the polluted ears of upſtart greatneſs, or of ſycophants who ſpaniel at their heels, it is not the *ſeverity* but the JUSTICE of theſe expreſſions that ſhould be arraigned; and if on inveſtigation they ſhould appear to be well founded, the reproach is due to *thoſe* who provoked and not to *him* who uſed them.

The blunt ſincerity of truth needs no apology, and in a country governed by equal laws it has nothing to fear. It is not in England, thank Heaven, that the coronet and ermined robe afford impunity to crime; neither do they ſhield the blockhead or the knave from cenſure. The Britiſh Peerage, conſidered in the aggregate, is highly reſpectable—It is an aſſembly dignified by its virtues and its talents, as well as by the laws and conſtitution; and whether we behold it in its legiſlative or judicial capacity, it is entitled to our affection and reverence; but though theſe are due to the Peers collectively, it does not follow that individuals among them, who depart from the line of conduct which they ought to obſerve, and whoſe example is of importance to the lower orders of ſociety, ſhould find an exemption in the title of Grace or of Lordſhip from reproof; and in this aſſertion I

am ſupported by a gentleman in whoſe favour I certainly am not prejudiced, and whoſe opinion on this occaſion cannot fail to juſtify that of mine in the minds of thoſe who admire what they are pleaſed to call his *tranſcendant* abilities, and who conſider him in whatever direction he moves as *infallible*. The language of Mr. Burke at the bar of the Houſe of Lords on the 23d of laſt month is ſo exactly in point, that I have ſubjoined it in a note *, not in blame of the ſentiments it contains, but in praiſe, for they are calculated to reſtore that energy to the mind and that purity to morals, which the pernicious refinements of the times have a tendency to weaken, corrupt, and deſtroy.

* It is the great misfortune of the preſent age, and nothing can more ſtrongly prove its degeneracy, than that fine and emollient names are applied to bad actions—a woman convicted of adultery is called gallant;—the man who committed it is always in the *French*, and very often in the Engliſh language, called a man of *good fortune* *; but the Managers would never ſhew ſuch a falſe, dangerous, and novel-like ſympathy—when they were deſcribing atrocious guilt, they would uſe adequate terms.

Extract from Mr. Burke's Speech at the the trial of Mr. Haſtings on Wedneſday the 28th May.

* The French phraſe is, *bonne avanture.*

If

If the Reviewers ſhould admit the juſtice of Mr. Burke's poſitions (for it is not in every inſtance that I would quote this gentleman, or conſider him as an authority) the ſeverity of my language to the Duke of Grafton ſtands juſtified by the conduct that provoked it, and "*coarſe things ſaid even in the coarſeſt way*" are not to be condemned when addreſſed to men who deſerve them; yet notwithſtanding the extreme anger of the Critics, with the aſperity of my language, and that part of my letter which attacks the *principle* of "*delapidating the public revenue for the purpoſe* "*of providing for the ſpurious iſſue of Princes* *," they acknowledge that "*Parliament in providing* "*for the public ſervice may grant a revenue ariſing* "*from lands, rent-charges, or duties on imported ar-* "*ticles—the accumulated maſs* (they ſay) *belongs to* "*the public, and its deſtination is for* PUBLIC "USES." In imitation of the Monthly Re-

* Vide the note at page 12, to the Letter addreſſed to the Duke of Grafton, and which ought in ſtrict juſtice, if quoted, to have been quoted at length; but theſe gentlemen, I ſuppoſe, are all maſons, and work by line and rule. They appear to proportion, by a meaſurement of their own, the extracts they make, to the degree of cenſure they inflict, or of praiſe they beſtow, leſt a word too much or a word too little ſhould contradict their deciſions, and prove their want of candour. It would not be difficult, on this principle, to convict Moſes of blaſphemy.

viewers

viewers, I have only quoted ſufficient for my purpoſe. The ſentence however is complete, and I would have proceeded farther, if I could have comprehended the meaning of what immediately follows, but its obſcurity or nonſenſe, as applied to the matter in diſpute, baffled every effort, and I leave it to thoſe who have more patience or curioſity than myſelf to penetrate through the myſterious jargon of theſe profound critics, politicians, and juris conſults. I join iſſue however moſt cordially with theſe gentlemen, and acknowledge that Parliament, *in providing for the public ſervice*, may grant any portion of the public revenue; and thus agreed, let me aſk what *public ſervice* Mrs. Palmer, or her ſon by Charles the Second, rendered to the State, that the one ſhould have been created Ducheſs of Cleveland, and the other, with all his deſcendants, quartered in perpetuity on the public revenue? If the "*accumulated maſs belongs to the* "*public, and its deſtination is for public uſes,*" (which no one will have the effrontery to deny) I am juſtified in ſaying that "*Charles the Second,* "*in granting any portion of the public revenue to* "*his illegitimate iſſue was guilty of a breach of* "*truſt to the nation, and that the Parliament that* "*ſanctioned the grant was an accomplice in the* "*fraud.*" This I hold to be ſound conſtitutional doctrine; it is a doctrine that I would have

have held at any period between the year 1660 and 1688, if it had been my misfortune to have lived in thoſe wretched times; and the fair way of judging of its ſterling weight and value is to aſk whether the Britiſh nation, if it was ſtill curſed with a Stuart on the Throne, would SUBMIT to ſo groſs and impudent a violation of right and decency? I will take upon me to affirm, however "*ſelf-ſufficient*" the anſwer may be deemed, THAT IT WOULD NOT.—— I feel aſſured that the manly ſpirits of the times would ſucceſsfully oppoſe the application of any portion of the public revenue to a purpoſe ſo ſcandalous and iniquitous; and as the Reviewers tacitly acknowledge that the title under which the Duke of Grafton holds that part of his income which he derives from the cuſtoms to have been originally faulty, and that it has become valid by preſcription, how incumbent then is it, not only in his Grace, but in the reſt of the *ſiniſter* offspring whom Charles the Second bequeathed to us as *legacies*, to be extremely circumſpect in their conduct, and to avoid whatever may eventually ſhake or deſtroy the ſecurity which has legalized the fraud that enriched them; for what better chance has the ſtatute of limitations of eſcaping in a general wreck than that of any other? In caſe of reſumptions, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that what

was

was leaſt merited, or that was illegally granted, will be the firſt ſacrificed? I really do not mean to be perſonal, when I ſay that gentlemen deriving their maintenance from ſuch a *ſource*, and holding their incomes by ſuch a *tenor*, are more likely to be the firſt ſelected, and the firſt plundered in times of civil tumult, than any other deſcription of people. Convinced as I am of this truth, it was ſurely pardonable to ſtate to his Grace in the ſtrongeſt language what he had to expect by diſcrediting Government at a moment when it required the greateſt ſupport, and when any diminution of its juſt power and influence might accelerate its deſtruction, and the diſſolution perhaps of all our eſtabliſhments.

I cannot hear with indifference the propagation of opinions, which the ſudden and almoſt univerſal change that has taken place in the minds of the lower orders of ſociety require to be corrected—ſuſpended or ſuppreſſed.—Men acting under conviction are apt to be poſitive; and if they are ſincere in the cauſe in which they have embarked, they are apt to be warm. I have ſeen enough of the different Governments on the continent to underſtand and to value the ſuperiority of the one under which I have the felicity to live; and I have been a

ſpectator of ſuch melancholy changes and events, accompanied with ſuch a ſeries of horrible diſaſters, as to inſpire me with the utmoſt averſion for thoſe who would expoſe this happy country to the hazard of ſimilar miſeries. I do not ſpeak at random, nor on doubtful authority, but from the facts within my own knowledge, when I aſſert that it has been the object of France for theſe four years paſt to ſeduce us to follow her example; and ſhe had ſcarce conceived the project, when ſhe boaſted that it was accompliſhed. A reſidence at Paris in the years 1790 and 1791, and an intimacy with a variety of people in that metropolis, furniſhed me with abundant means of knowing not only their views with reſpect to this country, but the deſigns of thoſe in England with whom they correſponded, and by whom they were taught to believe, "*that a revolution in England would be attempted and accompliſhed**." That ardor and vivacity

* It is impoſſible to read the ſecond Report of the private Committee to the Houſe of Commons, without being convinced of a deliberate deſign to ſubvert the Conſtitution; and though the rank of the men who have entered into this conſpiracy does not at firſt appear to warrant any apprehenſions of danger from their efforts, yet their numbers, zeal, and induſtry, joined to the method and concert with which they have hitherto proceeded towards the accompliſhment of their projects, make ample amends for their obſcurity, and juſtifies

vacity however which marks the French character, and renders every Frenchman impatient of controul, but ill correſponded with the caution

fies the alarm that has been given. The miſchiefs to be dreaded from a legiſlature compoſed of the refuſe of mankind—of men ſelected from Chick-lane, Hedge-lane, Billingſgate, and from the idle and diſſolute in all our great manufacturing towns, ſet all eſtimate at defiance—they cannot be calculated, though an idea may be formed of the terrible conſequences reſulting from ſuch a Government, by ſuppoſing this country to be preciſely in the ſame predicament that France has been in ſince the tenth of Auguſt 1792.

The mind will then be able to make a compariſon with tolerable accuracy between our preſent happy ſituation and that to which it would be expoſed under the wild dominion of an ignorant, ſavage multitude, acting from the impulſe of the moment, without any rule or principle of action, ſuſpicious and jealous of each other's power, and waging relentleſs war not againſt tyranny or abuſes, but againſt individuals, whoſe property, or whoſe virtues alone have rendered them objects of hatred and of vengeance.

I have already ſtated in a former publication *, that a King of England is the REPRESENTATIVE OF THE BRITISH NATION, to whom he is reſponſible through his Miniſters for the faithful execution of the truſt repoſed in him. This is his true character; he cannot be recognized under any other; and conſidering him under this point of view, I am warranted by the firſt law authorities †, in declaring that any tumultuous aſſembling of the people, or inſurrections to effect redreſs, or to accom-

* The Conduct of France towards Great-Britain, and alſo in the Letter addreſſed to the Duke of Grafton.

† Lord Ch. J. Hale and Foſter.

 pliſh

tion and circumſpection of thoſe, who with every wiſh to go all poſſible lengths, moved as it were by rule, and meaſuring their ſteps by the forms

pliſh innovations of great public import, or for the purpoſe of defeating acts of Parliament, are guilty of HIGH TREASON; nor is it leſs treaſonable by the ſtatute in any Britiſh ſubject to adhere to the King's enemies; that is, with the ſubjects of thoſe States which are at war with his Majeſty.

To thoſe who may not have gone to ſuch lengths, or who may have meant nothing more than to obtain moderate reform, which in happier times may be urged and accompliſhed without riſque or miſchief, and to which ſome of the beſt and moſt able men in the country are well diſpoſed, it may not be amiſs to ſay that "*It is not for private ſubjects, "miſguided perhaps by ignorance, and heated by faction, to de- "termine the proper moment of reſiſtance againſt ſuppoſed violations "of fundamental laws, ſubverſive of the Conſtitution, and breaches "of the original contract.*"

But as the following extracts from the ſecond Report prove deſigns againſt the laws of a moſt atrocious nature, and an avowed intention to deſtroy the Conſtitution and Government, they cannot have too great a degree of publicity; it is neceſſary that the nation ſhould be fully informed of the danger with which it is menaced, that it may come forward, and reſiſt the premeditated crimes of men become formidable from their numbers, their exertions, and the extent of their guilty deſigns.

"6th. It is the opinion of this meeting that the people "ought to demand as a right, and not petition as a favour "for univerſal repreſentation.

"3d. That therefore we will petition the Houſe of Com- "mons no more on this ſubject."

24 *April*, 1794, *Briſtol Meeting.*

"When

forms of law, declined hazarding their necks, and the ſucceſs of their plans by a precipitancy which would expoſe the actors to puniſhment, and marr their deſigns for ever. Paris, at the periods to which I allude, had a number of emiſſaries frome this country; ſome on the part of Oppoſition, for no other purpoſe than to diſcredit the meaſures of Government *, and facilitate a change in his Majeſty's Councils; others with views far more extenſive and infinitely more pernicious, for they went to THE ABOLITION OF THE PEERAGE, AND THE EXTINCTION OF THE MOST IMPORTANT AND MOST SALUTARY PREROGATIVES OF THE CROWN. The

" When a revolution of ſentiment ſhall have diſperſed the " miſts of prejudice, when by the inceſſant thunderings from " the preſs the meaneſt cottagers of our country ſhall be en- " lightened, and the ſun of reaſon ſhall ſhine in its fulleſt " meridian over us, than the commanding voice of the " whole people ſhall recommend the 558 gentlemen in St. " Stephen's Chapel to go about their buſineſs."

* I could relate a laughable anecdote, communicated to me by the elder Mirabeau, to whom one of theſe gentlemen, without having any previous acquaintance or knowledge of his perſon or letters, introduced himſelf, and having done it, invited Mr. Mirabeau to dinner in a manner as abrupt as the acquaintance had been made. Mirabeau addreſſed himſelf to me, to know who this gentleman was, and what his buſineſs with him could be—The adventure loſt nothing in the relation, and it added conſiderably to the natural vanity of the Frenchman, who inſtantly fancied himſelf courted by Oppoſition, and dreaded by Miniſtry.

views

views of theſe latter kept pace with the licentiouſneſs of the country whoſe example they admired, and their hopes of ſucceſs aroſe in proportion as the French advanced to infamy and ruin.

Every diſaſter that attended the Britiſh arms was matter of indecent triumph, and a preſage of ſucceſs to their projected plans of hoſtility againſt the independence and internal tranquillity of the people. Nor were the people who had entered into theſe views diſpleaſed to ſee the whole force and reſources of the kingdom called forth, while a proſpect exiſted of rendering them abortive. They were ſenſible that in proportion as the extraordinary efforts of the moment were unſucceſsful, the country would become weak, and incapable of reſiſting the premeditated attack. This combination was as ſimple as it was atrocious; and in order to accompliſh their object, all that ingenuity and perfidy could deviſe, or that great induſtry aided by great boldneſs could execute, were attempted, while looking forward in confidence and ſecurity to the period that was to place the Miniſter between two fires—that is, between inſurrections at home and an invaſion from abroad; the legiſlative and executive branches of Government were openly menaced in the public correſpondence of all the embryo conventions

ventions which had taken root in the kingdom ſince the year 1789, and whoſe contagion was extending itſelf throughout the empire with a rapidity equal to its malignity. My ſituation furniſhed me with opportunities to ſee and to hear much of theſe tranſactions *; my leiſure enabled me to mark their progreſs.

The obligations of patriotiſm are not in my eſtimation ſlight or ſimple duties, of little import whether they are executed or neglected, but of wide and general extent; they involve in them

* Two of the leading men, but of oppoſite views and intereſts, in the revolution in 1789, repeatedly aſſured me in the Summer of 1790, that a revolution in England was unavoidable; that the enlightened wiſdom of France had demonſtrated the folly and danger of having two Houſes of Parliament, and the ſtill greater miſchief of allowing the King to poſſeſs the right of making peace and war. That the people of England, animated by the example of Ireland, whoſe volunteers would ſoon be aſſembled in the cauſe of freedom, would take the National Aſſemby for its model, and by adopting its maxims and its laws, lay the foundation of an eternal alliance between the two empires. Such was the language which the principal men in the two great factions at Paris held, even at that early period of the revolution, and ſuch the doctrines they authorized the emiſſaries of all nations, whom they had in England, Scotland, and Ireland, to maintain and promulgate. To theſe objects their correſpondence from London and Dublin uniformly tended; extracts of which were occaſionally read to me for the purpoſe of undeceiving me with reſpect to the ſentiments and diſpoſitions

them a variety of ſolemn and important conſiderations; they include all the relative duties of mankind in their progreſs from infancy to age, and in all the different characters, changes and gradations, to which they are liable while living in a ſtate of ſocial intercourſe with each other. Acting under this impreſſion, and influenced by what I feel a virtue, I oppoſed, with all that vehemence which marks the character of a man ardent in his purſuits, and paſſionately attached to his country, the clandeſtine as well as the avowed deſigns of thoſe who meant to render it a ſcene of confuſion and of blood.

I am no ſtranger to the importance which bad men at this time annex to the oppoſition which is given to the Miniſter. However inſignificant or contemptible the individual may be in public

ſitions of my countrymen. From hence it is evident that the project for ſubverting of the Britiſh Conſtitution was adopted almoſt as ſoon as the King of France was dragged in diſgraceful triumph from Verſailles to Paris; and I know that it has been purſued on the part of the French with that ſubtlety and that ardor which appertain to the fineſſe and vivacity of the French nation. Whenever I aſſerted that we were perfectly ſatisfied with the preſent Government, I was laughed at for my ignorance; and whenever I contended that there was neither a neceſſity nor an excuſe for a revolution in England; my arguments were oppoſed by a torrent of propoſitions, which however juſt in the abſtract, are incompatible in practice with the general intereſts and ſafety of ſociety.

I am

or in private life, his conduct in Parliament atones for his want of talents, his infamy or inconſiſtency, while the blockhead, charmed at finding himſelf changed from a cypher to an unit, ſwallows the fulſome panegyric with avidity, and a dupe to the vermin whoſe object is to render him the inſtrument of their villainy, he fancies himſelf the Atlas of the State. We ſmile at the deluſion of the infant who in its innocent ſimplicity miſtakes the finger for the nipple, and beguiles itſelf to ſleep; but the adult who, in a ſituation that implies knowledge and vigor of intellect, adopts errors too groſs to deceive even childhood, has no excuſe, for there is no medium between vice and folly; his conduct is the reſult of guilt or imbecility, and in either caſe he is unworthy of the truſt repoſed in him, and deſerves the indignation or contempt he meets with. There are two points on which I am much ſurprized that any difference of opinion ſhould exiſt. The firſt of theſe is, that France began to meditate the ſubverſion of the Britiſh Government the very inſtant almoſt that ſhe had deſtroyed the Baſtile, and that ſhe was encouraged to proceed in her criminal deſigns by ſeveral people in different parts of the Britiſh dominions.

The ſecond is, that it was not in the power of Adminiſtration to avoid the perilous conteſt in which we are engaged; and what places this

fact in the ſtrongeſt point of view poſſible, is the extreme animoſity with which the Convention purſue all thoſe who were in office towards the cloſe of the year 1792 and the commencement of 1793, on the expreſs charge of being "*the authors of the terrible war that has broken out between the two nations* *."

This evidence therefore of guilt in the French Executive Council eſtabliſhes the innocence of the Britiſh Cabinet. It is a virtual acquittal of the Engliſh Miniſter, while the ſeverity with which the people actually in power at Paris condemn the war, and puniſh its authors, prove that the meaſure was not of their ſeeking, and that they lament it was ever adopted. A perſonal knowledge of Robeſpierre authoriſes me to aſſert, that he has been uniform and conſiſtent through the whole hiſtory of this lamentable revolution, and that, uninfluenced by perſonal intereſt, he has ſteadily purſued the idea which he adopted at a very early period, of eſtabliſhing a republic on the ruins of monarchy. A ſimplicity in his dreſs was accompanied by an auſterity of manners that correſponded with the objects he had in view, and known to be incorruptible, (for the annual revenue of Great Britain could not ſeduce him from his purpoſe) he

* Vide the note and letter from the continent dated the 22d of laſt month, inſerted in page 47.

acquired

acquired a degree of popularity which has hitherto enabled him to purſue his projects, and to triumph not only over thoſe who oppoſed them, but over thoſe of whoſe fidelity he was not well aſſured*. It is in theſe inſtances by which the ſpirit of faction ſeems to be ſuppreſſed, and that the authority, or uſurpation of Robeſpierre, or whatever elſe it may be called, appears to have acquired one of the principal characteriſtics of an eſtabliſhed Government; and whatever may be the reſult of his triumphs, whether he retains or loſes the power he has acquired, I will hazard a conjecture, however "*ſelf-ſufficient*" it may be thought by the Monthly Reviewers or their *proxy*, that though Robeſpierre may fall by an aſſaſſin, he will never be brought to the guillotine.

If the war was unavoidable on the part of this country, as I truſt has been made evident in my different publications, (and which Dumourier in his Memoirs, and the Convention by their recent proſecutions have fully confirmed)

* It is in the recollection of ſeveral gentlemen, that I ſaid at the time when Danton, by the commotion previous to that which brought him to the ſcaffold, was raiſed to an eqality of power in appearance with Robeſpierre, that he had no other ſecurity for his life than to cling to the mantle of the latter; and that if he attempted to play his colleague foul, he was a loſt man. The event has proved that I did not ſpeak at random.

the neceſſity of ſupporting the Miniſter in the proſecution of it to an honourable concluſion muſt be admitted, and every meaſure condemned which has the moſt remote tendency to check the awakened ardor of the nation, or to impede the operations of Government; and as theſe latter purpoſes are likely to be effected by placing the war to the account of the Miniſter, I felt it a duty to come forward and contradict aſſertions which I knew to be falſe, and which, whatever may have been the motives of thoſe who advanced them, were at leaſt injudicious, if not criminal. I have therefore confined myſelf to the topics on which oppoſition appear to reſt their claim to credit. My knowledge enables me to ſpeak with certainty and preciſion to this fact; for if the war ſhould, unhappily, prove diſaſtrous in the event, it is of conſequence to the nation, that the Miniſter, who has hitherto had every claim to its confidence and eſteem, ſhould be vindicated from the ſlander of having wantonly plunged his country into a calamity of ſuch direful extent.

FINIS.